

THE CENOTAPH OF SETI I AT ABYDOS

BY

H. FRANKFORT

WITH CHAPTERS BY

A. DE BUCK AND BATTISCOMBE GUNN

IN TWO VOLUMES

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Mr. Alan W. Shorter has kindly undertaken the tedious task of seeing this Memoir through the Press after Mr. Gunn and the present writer had completed and handed in their manuscripts. The text has profited in general by his editorial activities, and the translations by several valuable suggestions. For both kinds of improvements the Author's thanks are due to him.

It is hoped that Professor Thomas Whittemore's essay on the interesting Coptic graffiti from the Cenotaph will soon be completed and published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. Mr. Gunn's contribution to this volume, and most of the other chapters, were completed and set up in 1928, but the difficulty of some of the texts has delayed its publication.

It has been considered unnecessary to include an Index, the expense of which would be much increased by the divine names, etc., in which the translations of the texts abound ; the Index to the pages on which the Plates are described has therefore been deemed sufficient.

H. F.

TELL ASMAR, NEAR BAGHDAD,

November, 1932.



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THE CENOTAPH OF SETI I.

PART I. THE BUILDING.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY AND EXCAVATION.

WHEN in the winter of 1901-02 Professor Petrie was continuing his work for the Egypt Exploration Fund on the Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos, he directed at the same time Mr. St. G. Caulfeild's survey of the Temple of Seti I for the Egyptian Research Account. Behind the temple there extended what seemed more or less even desert, upon which Mariette had dumped enormous heaps of rubbish from his clearance of the temple. This stretch of desert, however, contained the largest building known to have been so completely concealed. The first inkling of its presence was obtained as a result of another unexpected discovery: thick masses of crude brick, held to be mastabas, had turned out to be the remains of the Temenos-wall of the temple, which could thus be completely traced. Then Professor Petrie noticed a slight depression of the desert surface, running parallel with, and inside, the western side of the Temenos-wall; and he proposed that it should be investigated. Twice he was told that the men had found "gebel," undisturbed desert soil, and therefore thought it useless to continue. Each time he recognised it as wind-blown sand and told them to go deeper. Thus a colossal furrow in the loose sand and rubbish was excavated,¹ and at last a few large blocks of limestone emerged where we now know that the brick construction of the entrance passage gave way to limestone. The pavement appeared to be forty-one feet below the surface, and it was clear that further excavation would entail a great deal of work. The season was, however, at an end.

Season 1902-03.—In the winter of 1902-03 Miss M. A. Murray and Lady (then Mrs.) Petrie started afresh. In the course of the work it had not only become clear that the building was situated at a considerable depth, but also that its extent could be traced without going very deeply; for underneath the loose rubbish and the sand of the desert one soon strikes hard marl, which is so compact that it can be cut like stone. And thus the excavated area in which the building was finally constructed has almost vertical sides which had merely to be followed up. Three weeks were spent in tracing these cuttings in the marl, in the hope that a place would be found where the roof would be intact and where the building could thus be entered without much difficulty. When this hope proved idle, work was concentrated on the room at the end of the entrance passage.² This was

¹ M. A. MURRAY, *The Osireion at Abydos* (Egyptian Research Account, No. ix), Pl. 1, 1.

² PETRIE, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, Frontispiece.

cleared, and so was the small room opening out of the first on to the south; and even the sloping passage running eastwards was excavated. But "two days of high winds silted it up to the level of the roof." Another attempt was made at the northern end of the entrance passage. Just inside the Temenos-wall the vault of the brick passage was found; the entrance pit outside the Temenos-wall was partly excavated, and it appeared that the bricks were stamped with the cartouche of Seti I. But it had by now become clear how large an undertaking the investigation of this unique hypogea was: "Nothing short of removing the whole forty feet of stuff over the whole construction can ever clear it." And this was considered beyond the means of the Egyptian Research Account. Thus the work was discontinued; and Miss Murray published the texts of the two rooms excavated, with an account of the work achieved and a discussion of the probable meaning of the structure, as *The Osireion at Abydos* (1904).

Season 1912-13.—No further progress was made till the winter of 1912-13, when the Egypt Exploration Society (or Fund, as it was then called), which had discharged its large self-imposed task at Deir el Bahri, took the matter in hand. There could now be no longer any misapprehension as to the magnitude of the undertaking. But what was already discovered was of so unparalleled a nature that further investigation appeared a scientific necessity. And thus, while part of the expedition worked in the necropolis, the clearance of the "Osireion" was continued under the personal direction of Professor Naville, whose great interest in Egyptian religion made him particularly keen to solve the riddle of a structure which seemed to be a sanctuary of the main god of Abydos. Of this season we only possess the short note which Professor Naville contributed to the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (Jan. 1914). Some of the earlier work had to be done again, as sand had of course blown in. The sloping passage was again cleared and part of the transversal room excavated; thus the large doorway was found which is now known to lead to the Central Hall, and which, by its dimensions and the size of its blocks, much impressed those who first discovered it.¹

Up to the end of this season all the work on the site had been most cumbersome, because the loose sand continually poured in. In the summer of 1913 much was done to remove this difficulty. As the Antiquities Department had to effect some clearance near the Seti temple, Sir Gaston Maspero kindly offered to clear away the 80,000 cubic feet of tip-heaps from Mariette's work, so that Professor Naville could start from the actual desert level and had not to waste time over preliminary rubbish. The Society paid £200 towards the cost of that work.

Season 1913-14.—Of the excavations during the winter of 1913-14 we are well informed, because Mr. G. A. Wainwright kept a detailed diary; Professor Naville published a short report in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (July 1914), and Professor Whittemore one in the *New York Sun* (August 2, 1914). The expedition included Mr. G. M. Gibson, who acted as engineer, and arranged the working of the light railway which, with other equipment, such as timber and tackle, the Antiquities Department had lent.

Work started just before Christmas and lasted about eleven weeks. From 400 to 600 men and boys were employed to shift the huge masses of sand (Pl. VII, 1), though the

¹ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, I, Pl. 1.

railway made possible a considerable saving of labour. Mr. Gibson arranged a sloping track, so that most of the basket-boys were merely kept filling the trucks at the bottom of the excavation, but did not need to carry the sand up the slopes; supplementary chains of boys worked, of course, at other spots in the usual way. After various trials a *gravity-railway* was installed, which was again used on a large scale in 1925-26. It worked on the following lines (Pl. VII, 2): An old wooden water-wheel was bought and put upright on a mound between two artificial slopes; one of these led down to the centre of the work, the other sloped down in the opposite direction away from the wheel. An empty truck running on this latter slope, and connected by a rope with a full truck which was hauled up out of the excavation, counterbalanced the weight of that truck itself. The problem was to obtain the requisite power which should pull the extra weight of sand in the full truck. A horse proved powerless; two cows, and next two camels were tried, without success. At last a pair of water-buffaloes performed the deed; but then the villagers refused to hire them. In the light of later experience it seems doubtful whether buffaloes would have been as successful as the means ultimately adopted. Lateral bars for fourteen sturdy men were fixed on to the counterbalancing truck. These men (when a signal was given from below that a truck was full) fell forward against the weight and, with the inevitable shouting, pushed the counterbalancing truck down its slope, thus pulling up the full one. Some quick and intelligent fellows stood in readiness to switch the full truck, on its arrival from below, on to one of the two sidings which led to the tip, and hooked on the empty carriage which was held in readiness on the other siding. This was then let down into the excavation by the return of the pushing team (with their counterbalancing truck) to the first position on the mound between the two slopes. Thus we succeeded, when the work was well organized, and with the use of two sidings at the top and at the bottom of the line, in pulling out a full truck every two or three minutes. It took, naturally, a great deal of supervision and continuous readjustment to keep the work going smoothly; all was at once upset if a hitch occurred in any of the collaborating groups—the diggers, the basket-boys filling the truck, the pushing-team, the shunters at the sidings, and the emptiers, who had also to smooth out the rubbish and keep the track in order.

Much on these lines went the work with the gravity-railway in the season 1913-14. The actual digging was arranged in a semi-circle round the transversal room and proceeded outwards from it, soon, when the limits of the building on the north and south were found, going forward towards the east. The workers stood in more or less concentric rows, which ascended in steps from the centre near the old excavation, where the greatest depth was reached, as far as the outer row, where fresh surface was tackled (Pl. VII, 1). Gradually the various features of the Central Hall appeared, or at least their upper parts, for it was, at first, impossible to go deeper than fifteen feet, as the sand came pouring in all the time. After six weeks' work, the back wall, on the side of the Seti-temple, was discovered; then the work went deeper, the sand being carried out from between huge blocks of granite and sandstone which had fallen in the breaking up of the monument, when it was used as a quarry in later times. A huge granite roofing-slab, cracked, but still in position in the south-east corner, was fixed by Mr. Gibson in its place. Then one by one all the main features of the building were revealed: the cells round the Central Hall, the dark room at the back of it, the channel round the central island, and the steps leading down

to the water. Finally, on the 8th of March, 1914, work was closed down for the season, everybody feeling confident that the following autumn would see the solution of the remaining problems. But the War intervened, and it was not until 1925 that the Egypt Exploration Society sent out another expedition to clear up the mystery which still surrounded the hypogeum.

Season 1925-26.—The expedition included, besides Mr. and Mrs. Frankfort, Mr. Herbert Felton our engineer and photographer, M. B. Van de Walle of Bruges, who was sent out by the “Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth,” and Mr. T. J. Colin Baly, student of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Liverpool. Mrs. Felton joined us later in the season, and assisted her husband with the photography.

Work started on the 15th of November, after we had spent a few days, first in Cairo, investigating the possibilities of obtaining mechanical power to move stones and to cope with the water in the channel of the Central Hall; and again at el-'Amarneh, whence we had to remove the furniture and the light railway. The Antiquities Department, and notably M. Barraize, assisted us most courteously, first by allowing us to stay in the Government House at Abydos while our own, after ten years' disuse, was made again inhabitable; and then by putting at our disposal timber and tackle without which it would have been impossible to clear the building for our investigation.

Dovetails.—While we were waiting for the arrival of this material and reconnoitring the site, the date of the building was settled by the discovery of a granite dovetail in position on the top of the southern side of the entrance of the Central Hall (Pl. XVI, 1. underneath arrow),¹ which was inscribed with the cartouche of Seti I (Pl. VIII, 1); and this discovery was corroborated by the evidence of a similar dovetail in position inside the eastern wall of the Central Hall, near the north end, where the granite roof is still intact (Pl. VIII, 2, 3). Some fragments of similar dovetails had been found in the 1913-14 campaign, but they had been taken to be parts of statues, and, in fact, were so damaged that it was difficult to recognise them.

Trenching.—Seti I now appearing as the builder of “the Osireion,” it became imperative to investigate the connection which one might assume to exist between our monument and the adjacent temple constructed by the same ruler; and the nature of this connection, which appeared to be merely structural, was revealed by some trenches which we cut between the two buildings (Pls. I, III; Pl. IX, 1).

Water-levelling.—At the same time Ibrahim Effendi Fuad arrived with some helpers, sent by the Director of the Topographical Survey, whose assistance I had asked for in our investigation of the origin of the water which appeared to be a feature of our building; and, realising the importance of the matter involved, he had a precise levelling carried out between a Nile-gauge at Balyanâ and the Cenotaph, including some wells in the intermediate villages. Henceforward every month for a full year we measured the position of the water at these points from the iron rods fixed by the Topographical Survey; the results of our observations will be found in Chapter III.

Tree-pits.—In the course of the preliminary work we also followed up some of the

¹ As far as I know it was Mr. J. L. Starkey who first suggested that in this way the date of the building might be ascertained.

rough stone and brick constructions found in 1913 near the north wall of the Cenotaph, and we actually emptied out the space between one of the small stone walls and the outer wall of the Central Hall against which it is built, down to water-level (Pl. IX, 2). It was found to contain a few objects at the top only, some Nineteenth Dynasty pots in sherds, and some booty which ancient robbers had obtained in the necropolis and eventually threw in here. We found pots of the Nineteenth Dynasty side by side with those of the Old Kingdom, and even a painted ("Decorated") Predynastic vase together with an iron arrow-head! Close by was a stela of the time of Aahmes,¹ and a terra-cotta Astarte figure. Below this dump of miscellaneous booty, and extending down to water-level at a depth of over 16 metres, a mass of compact black earth was found, containing no objects at all. In the course of the work six of these pits were discovered, all filled with the black earth which must have been purposely brought up from the cultivation some 350 metres away, as the building lies entirely in the sand and marl of the desert. A renewed inspection of the tree-pits which Mr. Winlock found at Deir el Bahri, which also descend to a very great depth (e.g. 12 metres), convinced us that our pits were intended to serve the same purpose; and a subsequent, meticulous examination of the south-eastern pit, where the top layers were best preserved, revealed the presence of some fragments of wood in the black earth; these Professor Newberry pronounced to be from coniferous trees, and, in one instance, from the tamarisk. Obviously some uncertainty remains; most of the wood has, as everywhere at Abydos, been eaten by white ants, and our flimsy remains are less convincing than the firm chunks of root which Mr. Winlock obtained. The fact that two different kinds were found in one pit may point to one of them having got in there from outside, and thus cast uncertainty on the origin of the other fragments. On the other hand, it is possible to surmise that in each pit several small trees were put to start with, so that there was a greater chance that one at least might take root, after which the others would be destroyed. In any case, the presence of the black earth can only be understood, as far as I can see, on the assumption that something had to grow in those pits for which the sand and marl of the site itself would not serve. We shall see that the assumption that trees stood round our building would be well in keeping with its character.

Clearing the Central Hall.—The work on the tree-pits enabled us to make some observations on the method by which the Cenotaph was constructed and on its subterranean character (Chapter II, 1). In the meantime we had made preparations to clear the Central Hall of the innumerable fallen stones (Pl. X; and *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII, Pl. xxiv) which encumbered it. Had it been merely necessary to clear these out in order that the imposing Hall might produce its full effect on visitors, we should not have been entitled to use the funds of the Society for this purpose, which in reality would pertain to the Department of Antiquities. As it was, however, we were totally prevented from investigating the real nature of the island by the encumbering blocks; and we had no space where we could put the pumping-plant necessary for the examination of the channel. Thus the clearance of the Central Hall had to be undertaken. We filled in the western side of the channel, as we had resolved to pile the stones up in the trans-

¹ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XIV, Pl. xxii, 2.

versal room, the inscriptions of which are gone, except for mere traces; and even these are most numerous at the doorways, which, of course, would remain free. To lift the stones, which weighed from 1 to 50 tons, entirely out of the building was quite impossible. Levers and rollers, pulleys and sometimes the small railway were used, but men supplied the power; and by the ingenious arrangements, with which Mr. Felton each time met the complicated problem of the unwieldy blocks, the clearance was effected in a shorter time than anyone thought possible who saw the chaos at the beginning of the work. All the more important pieces were numbered and the place where they were found noted down, so that, if ever an Egyptian Government desires to restore this remarkable building and make use of the old fragments, it will be able to do so. Within six weeks sand and stones were completely cleared away, and we could begin the investigation of the canal, to do which we had been obliged to make most elaborate preparations in the shape of the clearing of the entire entrance passage.

Work on Passage.—Though this undertaking had obviously to be part of the final clearing of the building it was more than doubtful whether its inclusion in the year's programme was expedient, as the clearing of the Central Hall, the cemetery work which had continued all this time, and above all the pumping and investigation of the canal, drained the Society's resources considerably; it was even quite uncertain at the time how much work and expenditure was yet involved in that investigation. However, our Vice-president, H.H. Prince Yussuf Kamel, had put at our disposal a 16-h.p. steam-engine and a 4-inch pump with pipes from his estate at Nag Hamadi for our work in the canal; for we should have to pump against 70 feet head. This heavy plant had to be lowered into the Central Hall. The slope of sand running into the existing excavation was vetoed as unsafe by Mr. Felton, and, as the entrance passage had once had a stone floor, there was at least a chance that we could make use of it in bringing the engine into the building, though Miss Murray had found the slabs broken up at the north end of the passage. With 500 men and boys a complete clearance was thus started, and soon the gravity-railway was reinstated on the lines used in 1913-14 (Pl. X, 2; and *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII, Pl. xxv); its course was shifted according to the exigencies of the work, but finally, as shown in the pictures, there were two running simultaneously: one leaving the passage by the north end passing underneath the entrance-arch; the other starting from the top of the west wall of the big chamber excavated by Miss Murray, where a level platform had been built up of small stones. We as well as former expeditions had had much to suffer from sand-slides, and, in fact, we had not only to clear the sand from between the built walls of the passage, but to pile up small stone walls, sometimes more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres high, on the top of the masonry to keep the sand out (Pl. XI, 1). By creating, however, the necessary rivalry between the two gangs connected with the respective railway-lines, we succeeded, after strenuous work, in completing the clearance in $3\frac{1}{2}$ weeks, when the northern gang sent the last truck up through the arch with a red handkerchief triumphantly tied to a turiah-handle. The Antiquities Department resolved to cover over the passage, and, indeed, without such a measure the high winds would in a few years have undone the whole of our work. The stone floor proved, fortunately, to be intact over almost the whole length of the passage, and thus the engine was installed on the central island and a pipe-line rigged up which led the water to the cultivation.

Pumping.—Egypt that season being blessed with a very high Nile we had to work under much more difficult conditions than our predecessors. In March 1914 it had been possible to dig down for over three metres below the ledge before meeting water, and with bucketing the water-level was brought down to 4·30 m. below the ledge. We found water 2·20 m. down, and even with our powerful engine we could not go below 3·80 m. The water came rushing in with great force through the fissures between the stones as soon as the level had gone down about half a metre as a consequence of the pumping; and though it appeared to be possible to calk the gaps, this resulted merely in the water spouting up with additional force from directly below. Nevertheless, there is not the slightest reason to assume that a well exists here; for our monthly readings of the water-levels between the Nile and the Cenotaph reveal unmistakeably that the water in the channel is merely part of the sheet of subsoil water which stretches from the Nile on both sides underneath the desert.¹ The changes in the Nile level are exactly reflected in the changes of the water-level in our channel. Consequently, we realised that it would require extensive engineering works to pump the channel dry, for the water-supply was unlimited, necessitating water-tight compartments to keep the subsoil water out. By our own efforts we merely succeeded in bringing down the water-level by pumping out faster than the water came in. And even this achievement was only possible between very narrow limits, for the inflow increased in intensity the greater the difference between the water-levels inside and outside the building became. When, after an hour and a half of continuous pumping we had got the water down about 1·50 m., and the engine stopped, the water was back at its original level in half an hour.² Whether a complete pumping dry, irrespective of the cost of the necessary engineering works, would not endanger the foundations of this extremely weighty building is highly doubtful; for there is a grave risk that the washing away of much sand from between the stones by the inrush of water would dislodge them. In any case, it was quite impossible for the Society to undertake such a task; and it was the less necessary to do so, since even as it was we were able to solve the problem, and could establish, with a probability bordering on certainty, the fact that a water-filled channel formed part of the building's original design. This may be concluded from the discovery of a pair of thrust-beams, as will be set forth in Chapter II, 5. This discovery was made by letting the men clear out the sand and stones while the water was kept

¹ This is studied in great detail by H. F. FERRAR, *The Movements of the Subsoil-water in Upper Egypt*; Paper No. 19 of the Survey Department of the Ministry of Finance, Cairo, 1911. In case further observations are wanted in future we give here the list of places levelled, with the reduced level above mean sea-level at Alexandria in metres:—(1) Zero of Baliana Nile Gauge: 0·135; (2) Iron in well of Abdel Latif Abu el Suud (Village Higz): 64·684; (3) Iron in well of Saqyet Rabe' Abu Mahmud: 64·260; (4) Iron in well of El Sayed Zeid (Nage Khabatta): 63·188; (5) Iron in well of Mahmud Mutawe' (Araba el Madfunah): 64·346; (6) Iron in well of Abd el Mawgud Omar (Araba): 64·052; (7) Iron in well in forecourt of Seti-temple: 68·451; (8) Iron in N.E. corner of Central Hall: 62·524; (9) Iron in S.W. corner of Central Hall: 62·577.

² The explanation of this extraordinary rapidity may well be found in the fact that the level at which we worked brought us down into the porous diluvial sands which underlie the deposits of Nile mud; and, as FERRAR has shown, the water of the river is continually in contact with, and has easy ingress to, these porous layers. The situation is summed up best by FERRAR's own conclusion: "The waters of all the Sakias at Girga and Tahta, whether deep or shallow, were found to fluctuate in unison, and the results agree so well with those obtained from the other stations that there is no possible doubt as to the infiltration of subsoil-water being a single and finite body whose fluctuations depend upon the rise and fall of the Nile."

low by the pump (Pl. XIV; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII, Pl. xxvii, 2, 3), till, about a metre underneath the lowest water-level, *i.e.* at about 5·00 m., all was clear under the ledge, and we were freely able to probe farther with a probing stick five metres long.

Closing.—On the 18th of April the decisive discovery was made; to test it we continued the work, till, at the corresponding place to the south of the centre, a similar beam was discovered. On the 22nd the work was closed down, six months after the expedition's arrival in Egypt. Mr. Felton remained out till May 30th to supervise the removal of the engine, and finish photographs and drawings. It should be said here again explicitly how much of the success of our long expedition is due to the hard work of Mr. Felton, under difficult conditions, without previous experience of native labour, and with material in no way comparable in efficiency and completeness to that which an English engineer uses and is entitled to expect. Besides the actual engineering work in the removal of the stones and the pumping, the architectural drawings in this volume are made by him, as are also most of the photographs, in addition to some hundred negatives made of the inscriptions in the entrance passage. Under this head mention must also be made of the untiring zeal with which M. van de Walle and Mrs. Frankfort copied and collated the various inscriptions on the basis of the photographs—as the plates of this volume show, an extensive undertaking, which, however, we wished to get to a large extent completed before we left, as the inscriptions, already in a bad state of preservation, were rapidly deteriorating after exposure.

Seasons 1927 and 1928.—In 1927, after the closing-down of the work at el-'Amarneh, Mrs. Frankfort and I spent another six weeks at Abydos to complete the collation of the texts and the notes on the Cenotaph. The interruption of the Society's excavations during 1927–28 enabled us to prepare this publication, in which the results of three seasons' work are thus embodied. Mr. W. B. Emery drew Plates LXXIV and LXXXI, in which full justice is done to the exquisite modelling of the reliefs, while at the same time the inscriptions are given with much greater clearness than in photographs of the coarse-grained sandstone. I wish here to express my gratitude for this generous help which, together with Mrs. Frankfort's continuous assistance throughout the year, enabled us to finish the plates and the manuscript before leaving for Egypt on a fresh campaign. Before starting work at Erment, however, in November 1928, a few days were spent at Abydos to collate some passages once more; and in the same year Dr. de Buck and Dr. Gardiner collated some of the very important roof-texts in the Sarcophagus Room, which Dr. de Buck discusses in a separate chapter. His assistance in connection with the texts is acknowledged in Chapter IV.

Season 1929–30.—Mr. Felton's photographs of the roof of the Sarcophagus Room proving unsatisfactory, as he had not been able to devote sufficient time to this difficult piece of work, Mr. Calverley, of the Archaeological Survey at Abydos, made new negatives; these form the basis of Plates LXXV to LXXX, and gave some new readings for Plate LXXXI.

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF BUILDING.

1. THE SITUATION, AND THE METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION.

Situation.—The Cenotaph lies immediately behind the temple, its eastern wall being 6·00 m. to the west of the western temple-wall, and its main axis coincides with that of the main (northern) portion of the temple (Pls. I, II, XV, XXI). The Cenotaph also lies entirely within the Sacred Precincts, its entrance being a brick arch made in the bottom of the Temenos-wall near its north-western corner (Pl. XIII, 1). Whether a special wall enclosed the Cenotaph and the back of the temple is hard to say. In arranging the track for the southern gravity-railway we found the stone foundation of a wall which, when followed up by Mr. Felton at the end of the season, appeared to connect up with the south-west corner of the temple (see Pl. I).

As mentioned before, the desert at Abydos consists, underneath its top layers of loose sand, of hard marl, geologically called sandy clay. Out of this hard and compact material the space was hewn in which the Cenotaph was subsequently built. This ancient excavation everywhere follows the actual building closely, at a distance, in fact, of about 4 or 5 metres, for its sides descend almost perpendicularly (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII, Pl. xxv, 2). Only in the middle of the north wall of the Central Hall the marl recedes, and it seems that here a causeway over 12 metres wide was cut (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, I, Pl. xix), along which the stones for the building were brought down. In our already overcrowded season there was no opportunity to investigate this point further, as again a large quantity of loose sand would have to be removed for the purpose. A heap of the clean broken marl from this ancient excavation still persists to the north of the entrance passage, from which it may well be derived. This heap was one of Professor Petrie's grounds for insisting, in the very beginning of the work on this site (*vide supra*, p. 1), that a building was to be looked for.

Retaining Walls.—The west wall of the temple descends for four courses below ground-level and rests then, as is usual, on a bed of clean sand. At 6 metres' distance from it we found a wall of small limestone blocks running parallel with the temple wall, and another similar wall parallel, 5 metres farther to the west (Pl. I). The latter juts out with a buttress towards the west at its north end, and inside this buttress rises one of the tree-pits, standing about 1·50 m. above the small stone wall (Pls. I, III, IX, 1). Inside the buttress there are a number of rough lumps of clay, which served perhaps as a temporary contrivance to keep up the pit or the soil before the small stone wall was completed. The blocks of the parallel walls measure on an average 0·51 by 0·27 by 0·15 m., the limits being 0·55 and 0·48, 0·28 and 0·20, and 0·16 and 0·14 m., for length, breadth and height respectively. There are alternate layers of headers and stretchers. The most westerly of these walls is much thicker than the other (1·70 as against 0·60 m.), the space between its two outer faces being filled with rubble. It stood about 0·75 m. above the top of the walls of the

Cenotaph, and where the buttress begins a big stone is laid over the corner (Pl. IX, 1). The buttress has a pronounced batter on its western face; it was traced down in 1914 for three metres and still continued. Calculations showed in 1925 that the parallel walls stand upon the long walls of the most easterly room of the Cenotaph, the sarcophagus chamber. Beyond the buttress they end abruptly; the slight continuation towards the north consists only of loosely piled-up stones. The parallel walls were just sufficiently excavated at their southern end to ascertain that the position was the same there; at the northern end a curved wall, one stone thick, which connects them (Pl. I) deserves notice. Between the two, as shown in the section (Pl. III), large blocks of limestone similar to those used for the outer casing of the building are jammed tight, and over them is spread a layer of black compact clay about 0.50 m. thick, well stamped down and covered again with a layer of limestone chips. Thus the two walls are well connected and a watertight roof for the Sarcophagus Chamber provided; but this was hardly the main purpose of the parallel walls, which rise for a considerable height above the level of the roofing-blocks. A little digging on their eastern side made the soil cave in from underneath the temple, at such a rate that work had to be stopped at once and the sand had to be filled in again. This little experiment confirms what seemed likely from the outset, namely, that the parallel walls were the retaining walls of the sand-bed upon which the temple rests.

We may draw a further conclusion, which bears on the relation between Seti's temple and his Cenotaph. It is inconceivable that the adjacent parts of the temple should have been constructed before the retaining walls were ready; and as the most easterly of these walls is too flimsy to stand any pressure by itself they must both have been there. They rest, however, as we have seen, on the heavy walls of the Sarcophagus Chamber, and these must consequently have been ready before the western part of the temple was built. Now this view is confirmed by the fact that only the inscriptions in the Sarcophagus Room are sculptured in Seti's name. This obviously implies that the Sarcophagus Chamber was at an early stage of the construction already more complete than the other parts of the building, so that scribes and sculptors could set to work there while the masons were still building the other rooms and passages. Thus the advanced state of finish in which the Sarcophagus Room was left by Seti's workmen confirms the fact that the Cenotaph and the temple were under construction at the same time.

Construction of Main Walls.—The mode of construction of the main walls of the building was well exemplified by a number of stratified deposits which were observed in 1914 by Mr. Wainwright, and also by us in 1925–26. They occur in the bluff to the north of the sloping passage, at the south-western corner of the Central Hall, and at various places along its south side. The clearest evidence was found in our excavation of the western tree-pit on the north side (Pl. IX, 2, 3). At all those spots layers of small limestone chips are found in the soil which surrounds the building, extending for five or six metres, and sloping slightly downward. In the bluff mentioned above, where the adjoining stone from the building is not the white limestone of the outer casing but the sandstone of the great doorway, the chips are sandstone. The soil between these thin layers is quite clean, and contains only very occasionally minute fragments of pottery or traces of ash. On the whole it consisted clearly of the broken-up marl of which the deeper layers of the desert at Abydos consist. Dr. W. F. Hume, who examined in detail the strata exposed in 1914,

agrees that the trails of chips can only be explained in connection with some building activity, and to me the only possible explanation seems to be that the process was as follows: When a tier of stones was built into the wall the broken soil which had come originally from the excavation was thrown in at the sides, and made level with the top of the wall as far as it was ready. Over this levelled space the blocks for the next tier were brought in position, and, as those of the outer casing of limestone are very rough, they had to be dressed to fit. The chips were then spread out and soil thrown in and levelled with the top of the newly-built tier so that the stones for the following course could be brought up, and so on. In some cases (Pl. IX, 3) the streaks of chips do not run exactly on the same height with the bottom of the course of stone to which they presumably belong, but are a little lower; this, of course, may easily be explained as a consequence of subsequent settlement of the soil round the building through centuries of pressure by superimposed earth.

Tree-pits.—This insight into the mode of building of the large walls elucidates two further problems. In the first place, the building of the tree-pits becomes clear. We found six of these, namely, two on the north,¹ east and south sides respectively of the Central Hall; farther towards the west there seemed to be none, but some uncertainty remains on this point, as there were such masses of rubbish on that side that a decisive investigation would have entailed more labour and expense than I felt entitled to put into it. The six tree-pits are all situated up against the outer limestone mantle of the building; they are more or less circular in shape, with a diameter of roughly 4·00 m. The two on the east stood up to the present-day ground-level, about 2·00 m. above the western retaining wall. They were entirely filled with black earth; the most northerly had sagged and collapsed in the course of the excavation (Pl. IX, 1). Lumps of black clay were packed round it, as we have seen, perhaps to support it while the buttress of the retaining wall was built. The walls of these pits consist merely of large rough flakes of limestone, packed together without mortar to a thickness of about half a metre. Obviously such a structure could not stand by itself; and, indeed, our excavation of the most westerly pit on the north side shows that inside the tree-pit the layers of white limestone chips, which are so conspicuous outside it, did not occur. It follows that these pits were built up together with the main walls, and left open to receive the black earth. The soil which was packed round the flimsy walls of the pits each time a tier of blocks was completed in the main wall (*vide supra*) kept it up well enough.

This conclusion allows us, further, to decide how far the building was finished when it was left. The two pits on the south side are too much damaged to show the level they reached. The same applies to the western pit on the north; but the most easterly pit on the north side was found in 1914 apparently just as it was left in antiquity. In Mr. Wainwright's Diary it is mentioned as a "circular brick pavement" of four courses founded on limestone *dabsh*. In reality there appear to be no bricks in the centre of the "pavement," but merely black earth. It is thus identical with the other five tree-pits, except that the very last portion of its wall is built up out of bricks instead of limestone flakes. Now, Mr. Wainwright has been careful to observe that this "pavement," *i.e.* the

¹ In the plan on Pl. IV after "filled with" add "black earth."

finished top layer of the pit, was flush with the surface of the broken marl outside the building ; this marl was, as we explained above, thrown in every time a tier of the wall was completed. On the top of this surface of broken marl there was later rubbish, and it thus seems probable that this was the surface reached when the work was left unfinished. From this we may infer that not all the roofing had been built into place, for otherwise there seems no reason why the surface of marl and pits should stop here, while the two pits at the east end had been carried up so much higher. The intention was obviously that the surface above and round the Cenotaph should finally be flush with that on which the temple stood, and, as the temple was already in construction and the retaining walls were built, the two pits on the east side of the Cenotaph fell into the area which was heightened up to the level finally to be reached. The other pits were intended to reach that level when the roof of the Cenotaph would have been completed and covered over with some two or three metres of soil.

Subterranean Character of Building.—A number of facts point to the subterranean character of the Cenotaph—subterranean in the sense that it was meant to be covered over entirely and completely. That its very nature compels us to assume this will be explained in a later chapter. Here we may draw attention to the complete absence of other than auxiliary constructions (such as the retaining walls) which would point to a sudden drop in the ground-level, from that of the narrow strip of soil immediately behind the temple to the environment of the Cenotaph. Also the similarity of the six tree-pits and the symmetry of the building in general make it probable that the surface of the tree-pits on the east indicates the level that was eventually to be reached for the whole site, and that was merely adopted on the east in advance on structural grounds, just as the construction of the Sarcophagus Chamber was at all times apparently in advance if compared with other parts of the building. Further, as will be shown in a later section of this chapter, we found at least the remnants of one of the gigantic roofing beams which spanned the middle width of the Central Hall. Finally, it deserves notice that the soil which was spread over those parts of the building which were completed is still to be observed in two bluffs, which rise on either side of the sloping passage leading from the ante-room at the end of the entrance passage towards the transversal room. The fact that the layers which are clearly marked in these bluffs are horizontal instead of sloping led observers in 1914 to assume that this soil was laid by water. However, the streaks of limestone and sandstone chips, which are derived from the dressing of the blocks of the building, are also found spread out in horizontal layers, and not all in a heap up against the outer walls ; thus they show that with the filling-in some levelling of the thrown-in soil was carried out. When, later on, the stone-robbers dug down to the building, they cut through the covering soil, and thus there remain to-day two isolated bluffs of soil in their original formation, while the mass of which they formed part was removed to get at the roofing-slabs of the transversal room, the sloping passage, and the two rooms on the west. It seems, however, that the roof of the Central Hall was never finished. We have inferred this already from the fact that the two tree-pits on the northern side seem never to have been completed up to their intended level ; and it also follows from the fact, observed by Mr. Wainwright in 1914, that the chips from a granite architrave on the north side of the Central Hall, which stone-robbers had attempted to break up, were lying in the sand surrounding that architrave. Consequently,

the Central Hall must, in the north-west corner at least, have been entirely filled up with wind-blown sand and the silt of occasional rain-storms. On the other hand, the eastern channel seems to have been open while the stone-robbing went on, as blocks were found in it down to a depth of 4 metres. That the Hall was for a long time filled with sand sloping down from west to east follows also from the fact that no Coptic drawings were found in its western half, but that they cover the three eastern pillars on the south side, while the middle pillar on the north side bears near its upper end a Greek inscription. However, allowing for the activities of the stone-plunderers, and those of three different expeditions which excavated at intervals, it is impossible to be very definite about the state of completion in which the building was left by Seti or Merenptah; it seems likely, however, that all the passages and rooms and part of the Central Hall had been roofed over.

2. THE ENTRANCE SHAFT AND VAULT.

As was said above, the entrance to the Cenotaph is an archway built into the Temenos-wall of the temple, near its north-western corner (Pl. XIII, 1; XII, 2). At about 20 metres from the Temenos-wall the hard marl of the desert is roughly cut into a stepped slope, which at a distance of 8·50 m. ends in a vertical drop, where the entrance shaft starts (Pl. XII, 1). It is 3·25 m. wide and 4·70 m. deep. The north wall of this vertical shaft is made of bricks for the upper 2·70 m., which rests on a remainder of about 2·00 m. of hard marl. This no doubt remains from the original cutting of the hard gebel in rough steps, for it is obvious that such steps must have continued down beyond the place where there is now a vertical drop, as long as the work on the building was in progress. Towards the end of the work the lower two metres would have been cut away at the spot where the shaft wall was erected. Thus, in its completed state, the shaft did not provide a means of ready access to the entrance arch.

The bricks of the shaft are the same as used for the Temenos-wall and are stamped with the cartouche of Seti I (Pl. XI, 3). They measure about 0·40 by 0·20 by 0·14 m. The walls of the shaft are about 0·40 m. thick, one row of headers alternating with two or three of stretchers. The arch is not absolutely central; on the east there is 0·16 and on the west 0·13 m. between it and the side walls of the shaft (Pl. XI, 5). The shaft walls are not bonded with the Temenos-wall, but merely built up against it. Their tops were originally flush with the bottom of the first straight course of bricks above the arch, i.e. 4·70 m. above the door-sill.

The Temenos-wall stands up 9·20 m. above the door-sill.¹ It shows the concave layers known in Egyptian brick-work.² From the top downwards one gets 27 courses of ordinary bricks, *viz.* 8 courses alternately headers and stretchers, then 4 courses stretchers and headers, then 14 courses headers and stretchers, and finally a course of headers. Then follow three courses of ordinary bricks, headers, built in arch-form. Then five similar courses consist of the thin bricks made especially for the roofing of the arch. Their use as headers here is, of course, contrary to their nature; it extends only for the depth of one brick from

¹ For details of the Temenos-wall, *vide* A. ST. G. CAULFEILD, *The Temple of the Kings* (Egyptian Research Account, No. VIII), 13.

² JÉQUIER, *Manuel d'Archéologie Egyptienne*, I, 303 sqq.

the outer face of the wall, and serves merely an ornamental purpose. Behind this one layer of headers the curved bricks stretch in five concentric courses across the vault. They are curved lengthwise, their inner length being 0·40 and their outer length 0·46 m., while they are 0·20 m. broad and 0·07 wide. Each thus covers a sector of 15°, and nine and a half of them form the inner curve of the vault, the length of half a brick being taken up by the mortar in the joints. As these bricks are thus evidently to fit the inner curve of the vault they are really unsuitable for the outer layers. Of these there are four, each of course with a larger radius than the preceding, and the curvature of the curved bricks is too pronounced for any of them (Pl. XII, 2). This difficulty is overcome by making use of chips of limestone, which are jammed into the mud-plaster in the joints between the bricks. The five concentric layers do not form the vault at right-angles with its main axis; but each layer deviates 10° from the vertical, and alternately to the north and to the south, so that the actual angle at which the bricks of two successive layers cross is 20° (Pl. XI, 4). This points to the method of building the arch, which was apparently effected without the use of a wooden mould over which the bricks are laid, but merely with supports at each end of the vault against which the layers leant. Not much care was taken, at least outside the inner curve, to let the lateral grooves fit. Here the interstices are often as much as 0·03 m. wide, and not even always filled with mortar (Pl. XI, 4). The centre of the vault is 3·10 m. above the floor. At the sides the wall goes straight up for 1·90 m., *i.e.* twelve courses of ordinary bricks and one of the curved bricks laid flat on their sides. The vault was plastered and whitewashed.

The vault, as well as the whole of the entrance passage, has a stone floor, but this was broken away for about a metre behind the door-sill, which is still in position. Upon this door-sill bricks were built up which shut the entrance to the Cenotaph entirely; only at the top they had been broken through. These bricks with which the arch was closed are the same as those with which the walls are built, and similarly stamped with the cartouche of Seti I.

3. THE ENTRANCE PASSAGE AND ANTE-ROOMS.

A brick vault, continuing that of the entrance arch, forms the beginning of the entrance passage for 32 metres. Then sandstone walls start up, without any transition or door-way, the bricks coming straight up to the stones. It seems that the passage, like the Central Hall, had a limestone casing, and blocks of this are still standing for four courses above the top of the passage walls, filling up the space between the sandstone walls and the cutting in the desert. These stones were the first trace of a building which Mr. Caulfeild obtained in his excavation. The blocks, about 0·70 m. thick, are cemented on to the hard marl of the desert cutting. The width of the passage is 2·70 m. and the height 2·85. It is floored with flags of limestone, and slopes down towards the south. At various places the stones of the top layer of the walls have been quarried away. They all show cuttings at the short end to take wooden dovetails; not one of these was found, however. The east wall is inscribed with litanies, with which groups of illustrations, showing the denizens of the Netherworld, alternate; the west wall shows the "Book of Gates," exactly as it occurs on Seti's sarcophagus. All the texts start at the north end of the passage. The roofing of the passage is best discussed together with the two rooms at its southern end.

These were excavated by Miss Murray, but the smaller was entirely filled up again, and even the larger contained much sand when we started work. The large room is 10·5 by 4·75, and 4·40 m. high. The small room is 4·75 by 2·60, and 3·15 m. high, in the middle of the south wall, and 2·60 at the sides, or slightly higher as the stone seems broken. The door-jambs are 0·53 m. wide.

The small room is in its measure a continuation of the entrance passage, and the large one is only a widening of the same before it turns sharply to the east and becomes the "sloping passage." This broadening was necessary in the Cenotaph, or at least in its prototypes, the Theban tombs of the Kings, in order to allow the sarcophagus to turn when it was brought in, and we were ourselves grateful to acknowledge this foresight on the part of the architect when we had to move our steam-engine down into the Central Hall. The small room was roofed with a pitch-roof, the beams of which went across in one span, and were cut out triangularly underneath. On the southern wall the outline of this roof is clearly discernible. The beam seems to have been just over 1·30 m. thick, while the cutting was 0·50 deep. It appears most likely that the whole entrance passage has been roofed with beams similar to those used in the small southern room. This would have brought the straight wall on the north of the larger room, where the last roofing beam of the passage would lie, up to 4·40 m., the height of the other three walls; it would also provide an excellent fit with the brick arch, the top of the pitch-roof, as revealed by the south wall of the small chamber, being exactly as high above the floor as the top of the brick vault at the north end of the passage. Finally, there is at one point on the east wall of the passage a minute fragment of a roofing-block left cemented on the wall, which shows that the roof sloped upwards at an angle of 71° with the horizontal, the same angle, in fact, as the triangle on the south wall of the small room shows. The roof was apparently of yellow sandstone, and seems to have displayed the cartouches of Merenptah in bands surrounded with the names of stars, as a few stray fragments would suggest.

A remarkable feature in the large room at the end of the entrance passage must be mentioned here. A number of blocks in the east wall, on both sides of the large doorway which leads to the sloping passage, are dressed smooth except for about a hand's-breadth from their upper edge (and in one case along one side edge), which is left rough (Pl. XIII, 2). Professor U. Hoelscher suggested to us, when he visited the building, that this might have been done because facing-slabs were intended to be added next to the blocks, and but for those rough bossed edges the adjoining blocks might easily be damaged or chipped. Then the new slabs and the rough edges ("Stoszkanten") of the stones already in position could be dressed smooth together.

The texts from the two rooms at the end of the entrance passage are found in Miss Murray's publication.

4. THE SLOPING PASSAGE AND TRANSVERSAL ROOM.

The sloping passage measures 14 m. by 2·60 by 3·05 (height). It slopes down towards the east at an angle of about 15°. It starts, however, with a horizontal piece of 1·20 m. and ends also with a horizontal piece of 2·40. The reason for this is evidently that a horizontal plane had to be obtained at both ends, as on the lintels of the sloping passage

the roofing-slabs of the adjoining rooms were to rest. The lintel at the western end is a rectangular stone, and shows underneath the names of Decans. Immediately behind it, *i.e.* to the east, there had apparently been an identical stone, now gone; but consequently the eastern face of the remaining lintel does not give us any evidence as to the shape of the roof of the sloping passage, such as we obtained for that of the entrance passage. At the eastern end there are traces of a doorway: on the northern wall there are traces of cement where the door-jamb was presumably fixed; on the southern wall of the passage there are no traces of cement, but the inscribed face of the wall recedes for 0.08 m., leaving a rough surface standing out, to act as, or be joined to, the door-jamb. On the walls of the passage are texts from the Book of the Dead, sculptured by Merenptah (Pls. LXIII-LXX).

The Transversal Room measures 27.15 by 5.25 m., with a height of 4.65 in the middle. The mantle of rough white limestone which envelops the building as a whole surrounds the Transversal Room entirely, forming actually its north and south walls, while the east and west walls are faced with yellow sandstone; but limestone is used again inside the east wall, *i.e.* between the yellow sandstone facing of the Transversal Room and the red sandstone of the Central Hall.

The roof was a pitch-roof, of which part of one block is still in position in the north-east corner. The analogy with the Sarcophagus Room, which resembles the Transversal Room in its measurements, would suggest that it was formed by pairs of blocks, which rested on the east and west walls, projecting and meeting in the middle.

The large doorway leading to the Central Hall is of red sandstone. The lintel is 1.57 m. thick, and the top edge of its western face projects 0.02 over the whole length, for a depth of 0.24 m., above the rest of the face of the stone. This can just be seen through the (modern) arch of the sloping passage on Pl. XIII, 2. The three red sandstone blocks on the north of the doorway are 1.17, 0.90, and 1.00 m. thick respectively, those on the south 1.17, 0.93, and 0.87 m. The doorway is 3.65 m. long. On this doorway some small painted fragments of texts from the Book of the Dead are preserved. The one remaining roofing-stone in the north-east corner of the Transversal Room shows faint traces of the head of a figure of Nut with arms outstretched towards the earth, a ship sailing forth and swimmers, such as are shown in the tomb of Ramses IV (Lefébure, III, Pl. 27). The background is painted red, with darker red spots.

5. THE CENTRAL HALL.

The Central Hall consists of an island surrounded by a channel. The walls are provided with a ledge which projects above the channel, but which is interrupted on the east and west sides by piers carrying the architraves (Pls. XVII, 1; XVIII, 2). Thus the ledge does not provide a means of communication through the Hall. It is 0.60 m. wide and 0.53 thick, and is worked out of the actual blocks of which the walls are constructed; these are about 1.00 m. wide, of varying length (Pl. IV), and all of red sandstone. The island is built of the same material. All these blocks are still covered with the pit-marks with which they left the quarries, and often still retain the bosses which were intended

to facilitate their handling (Pls. XVII, 1; XVIII, 2). Near the edges the blocks are dressed down, however, over a width of 0·08 m. (Pl. XVI, 2). On the stones of the island this dressing is executed not only near the edges, but also round the places where the pillars stand and round the two sunken spaces in the middle; and on the blocks of the piers a special surface was prepared to fit the ledge (Pl. XVIII, 2). The east wall is smoothed down to the level of the ledge and sculptured in sunken relief, in a cursory way, by Merenptah. The south wall has been partly dressed smooth as well, and this work was just started at the top of the north wall in the eastern corner (Pls. VIII, 2; XVIII, 3). The rough surface of the stones and the simplicity of the walls, the only beauty of which consists in their material, are both features which the ancient builders valued differently from ourselves, and did not intend to be permanent. All the walls were to be smoothed and covered with sculptures, like the east wall and the southern architraves; in fact, the western face of the middle pillar in the southern row still shows traces of the sculptor's sketch in red ink, which was preliminary to the cutting; it represents a kneeling male figure, in all probability the king.

The walls are six courses high, but on the south only two of these remain. The blocks are joined at their short sides by black granite dovetails, 0·37 m. long and 0·10 thick, which are partly inscribed with black ink, partly sculptured with the name of Seti I. They were cemented into the corresponding openings of the stones, with the cartouche downwards, and their top flush with the upper surface of the stones thus linked together. The blocks are patched here and there, where a small open space was left by a bad join or where the surface was damaged.

On each of the long sides of the Hall there are six cells; two more are on the west, and three on the east side. They measure 1·98 by 2·15 by a height of 2·00 m. They are entirely bare, and obviously not finished. The doorways were meant to be surrounded by a pylon-shaped door-frame, worked out in relief when the stones were finally dressed. This is shown on the southern wall. Inside the cutting into which the door (which would open outwards) was to be fitted, there are in the two upper corners hollows to take the pin of the door-leaves, which could thus be lifted into their place.

Round the island runs a ledge similar to that in front of the cells of the outer walls of the Hall. It is, however, interrupted in the middle of the east and the west sides by two narrow and somewhat rough stairways, which descend in eleven and twelve steps respectively for 3·15 m., ending in a broader step from which there is a dead drop to the channel (Pls. II; XIV, 5; XV; XVII, 1). These steps are as little finished as the rest of the island; in fact, it seems that there was no time to cut all the steps on the west, and the two at the top were merely indicated by a removal of the stone over about a third of the breadth which they were ultimately to have. For these steps are all cut out into the blocks of the island. They are uneven, and on an average 0·20 to 0·25 m. deep and wide. The eastern bottom step is, however, 0·90 m., the western 0·65 wide. Separated from the eastern stairway by not more than 0·30 m. there is a space 2·13 m. square and 0·52 deep, cut out in the stone (Pl. XVI, 2), and 2·20 m. to the west a similar but oblong space, 4·27 by 2·23, and 0·52 m. deep.

The island carries the ten pillars which support the roof. They are of rose granite, sometimes shading into grey, and seven of them are monoliths. They measure from

2·35 to 2·38 m. on their north and south sides; and from 2·09 to 2·12 m. on their east and west sides. As mentioned above, they were meant to be sculptured.

The rose granite architraves rest upon the pillars, and upon piers which jut out from the east and west walls of the Central Hall. They supported roofing-slabs which rested on the north or the south wall of the Hall, and further projected over the middle aisle with a slanting piece, which is preserved in the last stone on the north side, while in the corresponding place opposite clear traces of a similar stone are still to be seen (Pl. XV). The tops of these stones seem to have been flush with the top of the east wall. Upon these slabs were put the coping-stones, one of which we believe to have found (Pl. X, 1). This piece was, though damaged, still 6·50 m. long, and would thus have spanned the middle aisle without merely resting on the projecting parts of the roofing-slabs, but actually on that part of these latter which was supported directly by the architraves. Unfortunately, we cannot prove with absolute certainty that this huge stone was a coping-stone; for even the roofing-slabs, which rest upon the walls and the architraves, exceed the length just quoted. Their exact length cannot be given, for they disappear on the north side underneath the limestone casing-blocks, which thus appear not merely to have surrounded the building but actually to have covered it as well. The roofing-slabs are 10 m. long, while they are from 2·50 to 2·70 m. broad and 1·60 thick. The stone of 6·50 m. which we found might therefore be considered to belong to this series, but for the fact that it does not show the slanting part which would have projected over the central aisle; it seems also to have been less broad and thick than the slabs. It is very much damaged, and therefore these conclusions are not altogether decisive; but giving them for what they are worth we may further draw attention to the position in which the stone was found, *viz.* lying east-west on the southern side of the northern row of pillars on the island, from the second pillar from the east onward. Now, one could not imagine one of the roofing-slabs with a slanting end to have dropped in that position, seeing that they only project for 1·20 m. over the central aisle, while all the rest of their colossal weight rests upon the architrave and the outer wall of the Central Hall. It seems, moreover, that the slanting portion which projects over the central aisle was regularly split off first by the plunderers, who then divided the stone further. On the other hand, the position of our 6·50 m. stone is well explained if we assume it to be a coping-stone which had slid down, northern end first, when the roofing-slab underneath it (on the northern aisle) was split up. It would be easy to get at this slab from the side. The coping-stone in slipping down would of course damage the end which came in contact with the floor at the foot of the northern row of pillars, while its southern end would swing from the southern roofing-slabs and naturally crash towards west and north, so that the stone would acquire precisely the position in which we found it. Moreover, it would thus be possible to explain why the stone is not only smashed at one end, where it touched the floor first, but also over the best part of its length down two of its edges, which are entirely shattered; and it is this rounding-off of the stone which makes it so difficult to be entirely certain about the function it originally had in the building. But I think it will be agreed that our interpretation is by far the most probable, and that this important block allows us to reconstruct the roof as indicated.

The last architectural feature of the Central Hall to be discussed is that of the thrust-

beams, which were discovered when we had cleared the canal on the east side of the fallen blocks and the rubbish. The beams, 1·10 m. thick and 1·25 wide, connect the island with the east wall (Pl. XVIII, 1); similar beams, one must surmise, are to be found on the west side of the canal. Their top is 4·15 m. below the ledge of the canal, and one of their sides is flush with the inner side of the pier into which they are built; thus, for instance, the southern surface of the northern beam is flush with the south side of the northern pier. The beams are of the same material, width and breadth as the blocks in the walls of the Central Hall, and as the piers consist of two of these blocks, their outer half is not at all affected by the beams. The beams come underneath the fourth course of stones in the island. Their purpose is evidently to add rigidity to the fabric of the Central Hall. The two groups of units which carry the colossal weight of the granite roof, namely the piers and the pillars, would, but for the beams, be without any bondage for over a height of 12 metres; for this is probably, as we shall see, the distance between the architraves and the foundations. A slight resettlement of the soil might thus result in serious dislocation, as a consequence of sideways pressure; for there were no parts equal to the strain if the island with its pillars on the one hand, and the piers on the other, remained disconnected over so great a distance. These thrust-beams were therefore built in, at about one third of the height above the foundations.

The discovery of these beams was of the greatest importance. They enabled us to get some idea as to the probable foundations of the building, as well as confirming our view of the original character of the canal. When the latter had been cleared at its eastern sides and the thrust-beams were discovered, it had already become clear that all hope of lowering the water-level any farther had to be given up (*vide supra*, p. 7). But it appeared possible to use freely a probing stick five metres long without meeting any serious obstructions. We then took soundings all through that part of the canal which was excavated, *i.e.* from the southern pier of the east wall down to the north wall, and obtained uniform results throughout. The water stood about four metres below the ledge, but we could nowhere reach the end of the walls of the canal when we pushed the probing stick down at a slant; the walls appeared everywhere to descend below the lowest point we could reach in this way. When, on the other hand, the stick was pressed down vertically, we found everywhere that at a certain depth—7·80 m. below the ledge—the water acted with particular force upon the stick, and in fact pressed it upwards, spouting up after it when it was withdrawn. Some of the villagers whom we employed, who were experienced in the making of wells, knew these phenomena well, and recognised the hard layer at once as the “*gebel moiya*,” a more or less impermeable stratum, to which they go down when they have to find the walls of their *sâkiyah* pits. This may well be an old custom, as it is founded upon the unchanged conditions of the country; and there is, therefore, some probability that the ancient builders went down to this layer when they wished to find the walls of a building which, like a well, was always to hold water. The consideration that it was necessary for so exceptionally ponderous a structure to find a hard layer to support the foundations will perhaps have carried little weight with architects whose flimsy foundation-works are notorious; incidentally this was the first compact layer to be met in going down. Anyhow, the assumption that on this layer the walls of the channel rest is well in keeping with the fact that we could not reach

the end of these walls with our long probing stick. And moreover, if we accept the ordinary figures for the difference in Nile-levels between Seti's time and our own, *viz.* 1·00 m. per thousand years, we find that on our assumption the water would at its highest have stood about level with the lowest steps of the stairs which descend from the island, while at its lowest it would just have enabled the builders to lay the foundations in the dry stratum, which we must no doubt assume they did.¹

It remains finally to prove that the water was an original feature of the Central Hall. That the very meaning of the building postulates the existence of a water-filled canal we shall see later. In this chapter we have to consider what bearing the architectural features have on the problem.

First of all, then, it deserves notice that no other view has any positive facts in its support. It has been maintained that a floor was to have been inserted between the ledge of the outer wall and the ledge of the island.² Not a trace of such a floor was found, either in 1914, or in 1925 when I tested the north side of the canal most carefully with this problem in mind. Nor was there any trace of cement on the ledges, as a note in Mr. Wainwright's diary and my own observations show. Moreover, it seems improbable that for the mere purpose of effecting a tight join with the flooring-slabs such extreme pains would have been taken to cut a ledge out of the blocks. In fact, the under-cutting of the ledge, where in each block the stone has been removed for over a height of 0·50 m. and a depth of 0·35 m., would remain entirely incomprehensible. The same applies to the stairs leading down on the short sides of the island. The assumption that they would have served during the work is impossible. To start with, they are exceedingly uncomfortable; they are entirely different from ordinary Egyptian stairs for carrying loads etc., which have broad, shallow, sloping steps. On the western side, moreover, they are not finished, but it was considered important to indicate them by a partial removal of the stone. Apart from the difficulty of imagining why yet another flight was necessary after the lower courses were completed and the island built up, the fact remains that the steps lead nowhere, ending in a dead drop (Pl. III, XIV, 5). Again, the difficult labour entailed in the cutting of the steps would be inexplicable on the assumption that they are merely a temporary and utilitarian construction; moreover, if they were such, the island would have been permanently disfigured by their cutting. It is maintained that the presumed floor between the ledges would not have had sand underneath, but would have served as roof to a corridor, which would have run round the island and was accessible by the steps; but this view is equally untenable. No trace of a floor has been found at any lower level in the canal, either in the shape of remains of flooring-slabs, or of cement, or of any place where it would join the walls. Moreover, what would be the purpose of an ambulatory round a solid mass of masonry, with blind walls on the other side? And if one's imagination suggests that a doorway might be found at a lower level than that reached by our excavations, it must be remembered that there would be no access to it,

¹ At present the water at High Nile stands about the ledge in the building, and the average difference between the levels of the water-table at High Nile and Low Nile in the district is about 4·00-6·00 m. (FERRAR, *The Movements of the Subsoil-water in Upper Egypt*, Pl. xxvii, C, and p. 59, table v.) In Seti's time the levels would be 3·25 m. lower than to-day.

² BORCHARDT, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1926, Sp. 1899; and *Klio*, xiv, 501.

as the stairs stop short in the third course of stone; also, even in Seti's time, this supposed room would be submerged at every high Nile.

All these views which I have heard expressed unofficially by various more or less competent visitors to our work are purely fanciful, and a few very definite facts disprove them. In the first place, even the wind-blown sand or the floods caused by rain-storms in the desert have not been able to fill up the canal at the east side for a much greater height than four metres under the ledge; for up to that depth blocks were found, which had dropped in when the building was plundered for its stone. That the canal was, however, not merely left open, but was actually meant to be open, is shown by small pieces of patch-work carried out underneath (as above) the ledge, where there were deficiencies in the stones or in their fitting. These repairs serve, of course, no useful but merely an aesthetic purpose, and their presence therefore betrays that the walls underneath the ledge were not meant to be concealed, but to be seen. If, however, the canal was open, simple arithmetic shows that it would be filled with water in Seti I's time for a great part of the year, or even continuously, for its foundations, as we have seen, would merely at the period when the Nile was lowest be above the level of the subsoil water-sheet.

Even on the assumption, however, that water was from the first an intended feature of the Central Hall with its canal, its arrangement is by no means clear. But this is due to the extraordinary circumstance, which will be discussed in Chapter III, that the Central Hall is not constructed for use, and that therefore no mere architectural explanation can do justice to its peculiarities; it was exclusively the three dimensional expression of a religious idea, which thus should give us the clue to the building.

6. THE SARCOPHAGUS CHAMBER.

It remains to describe the most easterly room of the Cenotaph, which, for reasons which will become apparent later on, we have called the Sarcophagus Chamber (Pl. XIX). It is 27·15 by 4·75 m., and 2·50 m. high at the wall, 4·45 m. to the top of the roof. The walls are of white limestone, except where on the west sandstone penetrates from the back of the cells of the Central Hall. As mostly at high Nile the room contains some water the limestone is soaked, and the inscriptions with which the white plastered walls were covered, and which seem to have been entirely in enigmatic script, have disappeared except for insignificant remains (Pl. LXXXVII). The roof, however, is of yellow sandstone and thus better preserved, which is fortunate, as it is sculptured with scenes of great interest and, especially on the western half, in exceedingly delicate relief. Unfortunately, the southern part of the west half is badly damaged, and it is just there that the extraordinary "Dramatic Text" is inscribed. The southern part of the east half is not finished (Pl. LXXX). See further Chapter VI, 9. The analogy with the Transversal Room allows one to draw some conclusions as to the roof of the Sarcophagus Chamber. The one stone in position in the north-east corner of the Transversal Room shows that the pitch-roof was not formed by slabs leaning against one another, but by horizontal blocks, cut out so as to give the desired effect. The fragment in the Transversal Room leaves the possibility open that one single block was used to span the whole width of the room; but the Sarcophagus Chamber shows that the roofing-blocks were used in pairs which met in the middle.

It is difficult to decide whether the Sarcophagus Room was intended to have an entrance. One enters nowadays through the middle cell in the east wall of the Central Hall; and above that "entrance" to the Sarcophagus Room there is, indeed, a larger stone than those used in the corresponding places of the two cells on either side, which do not open into the Sarcophagus Chamber. One is thus tempted to see in the large stone of the middle cell an architrave for a doorway. Even so, however, it is not certain that a permanent doorway was intended; for in any case some kind of an opening was necessary to allow the craftsmen to enter the Sarcophagus Room, where even now the reliefs are not finished. One wonders whether the narrow opening under the so-called architrave is anything but a temporary entrance, meant to be eventually walled up; for the opening is actually not in the centre of the cell (Pl. XIX, 2), and shows not a single sign to suggest that the rough blocks would eventually be worked into a proper doorway. The top one on the south side is broken off. When discovered, in 1914, this entrance into the Sarcophagus Chamber was found filled up with white limestone blocks, such as are used in the retaining walls above, eked out with mud bricks.

In the northern end of the east wall of the Sarcophagus Room a hole was broken (Pl. XIX, 3). This was done from the inside of the room, for below it the scratched line is still visible which outlined where the stone was to be taken away. The hole is about 1·60 m. above ground, and about 0·70 m. high and wide. It passes through the wall and the outer limestone casing of the building, to a total depth of 2·80 m., and ends in sand which comes pouring down when one attempts to remove it. It was apparently made by treasure hunters; and the reason why they chose this point is not difficult to guess, for in the direction of the hole which they made they would come exactly underneath the remarkable two-storied "room" in the north-west corner of the Seti temple to which there is no entrance at all. It does credit to the exact observation of these ancient robbers that they realised the correspondence. But their attempt to find a subterranean entrance and a treasure had to be given up, for the whole sand-bed upon which the Temple is built came pouring on to them.

CHAPTER III.

DATE, PURPOSE, AND HISTORY OF THE BUILDING.

1. THE DATE OF THE BUILDING.

EVIDENCE as to the date of our building is both copious and consistent: the entrance shaft and vault are built with bricks stamped with the cartouche of Seti I; the extensive texts in the entrance passage and ante-rooms show conspicuously the name of Merenptah; but Professor Borchardt's perspicacity has not been lured by this fact into overlooking the point that once Seti's name has escaped the corrector and occurs, without cartouche, in the text.¹ The text on the west wall of the entrance passage is identical, with a few minor variants, with that which is engraved on Seti's alabaster sarcophagus; and this text again contains Seti's name in one place, without a cartouche.

The Central Hall is built of blocks which are joined together in pairs by dovetails bearing Seti's name; and the most easterly room is sculptured with scenes containing the same name again. Normally, no doubt as to the builder of the Cenotaph would exist; but in our case we come up against views which have been adopted in the ten years that the Central Hall was known, but without the evidence which we now possess. Anyhow, a tradition as to the great antiquity of the Central Hall has taken root, and it is therefore necessary, on the one hand, to review the arguments put forward in favour of that traditional view, and, on the other, to expound to its full extent the implications of the evidence summarised above.

It has to be admitted that no similar building is known from the Nineteenth Dynasty. It is not, however, correct to quote the so-called "Temple of the Sphinx" at Giza as a parallel.² Even the most superficial perusal of Professor Hoelscher's full publication of that building will reveal the fact that it has no features in common with the structure at Abydos, except the use of square granite pillars and architraves. And these resemble each other as the columns of the Nike temple on the Acropolis resemble those of Baalbek. Certainly our Central Hall possesses an impressive grandeur. But compared with the smaller

¹ *Klio*, XII (1912), 390.

² JUNKER's discussion of the Art of the Old Kingdom (*Zeitschrift fuer Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 63) has made it quite clear that the severe style of Khafra's building is typical for the Fourth Dynasty only, being a wilful break with the tradition of the Third Dynasty, to which the Fifth, in its turn, goes back. Thus one would have to claim not merely an Old Kingdom, but definitely a Fourth Dynasty prototype for our building. Similarity between the Cenotaph and the Temple of the Sphinx, and consequently an early date for the first, is claimed by NAVILLE, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, I, 166; JÉQUIER, *Manuel d'Archéologie Egyptienne*, I, 153; KEEPS, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen*; KRISTENSEN, *Het Leven uit de Dood*, 89; WRESZINSKI, *Bericht ueber die Photographische Expedition*, 1927, 47 sq.; STEINDORFF, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1926, Sp. 1898; corrected in *Die Kunst der Aegypter*, 32; PIEPER, *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, 1928, Sp. 188. The last-named author could already have taken cognisance of our Preliminary Report.

but far more finely proportioned pillars at Giza those at Abydos are heavy and inelegant; and in all other points the lower sanctuary of Khafra's pyramid-temple at Giza and our building at Abydos differ completely. It must not be forgotten that the "stern simplicity" at Abydos is merely a consequence of the unfinished state of the building, and that we possess evidence that not only the walls, but also the architraves and the pillars were to be covered with sculpture. Finally, the granite work cannot be separated from the sandstone, which is so characteristic a material of the Nineteenth Dynasty. This has been attempted, the assumption then being that Seti I would have added to an older granite kernel. However, the second dovetail, sculptured with Seti's cartouche (the first was found on the top of the western entrance into the Central Hall, Pl. XVI, 1), was found in position in the third course from the top in the north-east corner of the building, visible merely because the stone had in antiquity lost a large flake (Pl. VIII, 2, 3). This inscribed dovetail is to be seen, therefore, actually in the wall below the granite roofing-blocks which still rest upon it; and the granite architraves are built into this wall. A stronger proof of the unity of the whole building and of its authorship could not be given. The granite pillars, furthermore, are founded upon an island which is entirely built of red sandstone, differing neither in the size nor in the characteristics of its blocks from the walls in which the dovetails are found, and actually linked to that wall by a thrust-beam of red sandstone of the same nature. Here again it is therefore impossible to separate the sandstone from the granite work. Again, we have seen that the assumption that our building and the adjoining temple were built at the same time explains a number of features of the first, and notably alone accounts for the relative state of completion which the various parts of our building had reached when it was left (see Chapter II, p. 10). Lastly, the objects found in and around the building are, with the exception of the miscellaneous lot of tomb-robbers' booty discussed above, and the remains of a prehistoric village which had slid down into the filling of the entrance passage,¹ either Nineteenth Dynasty or later. Nineteenth Dynasty pottery was especially common, and a few fragments of black granite statues of Seti I deserve notice (Pl. XX). But not a stone or sherd of an earlier period was found.

Some indirect evidence for the presence of an earlier building behind the Seti temple is sometimes considered to exist in Professor Petrie's theory as to the original plan of Seti's temple. According to this view the plan of the temple as we know it is a secondary distortion of that which was originally made, and the rooms that now form the southern wing of the temple were meant to follow in the main axis behind what is now its most westerly room. This change of plan would have been caused by the fact that Seti's builders found an older building in the place of the Cenotaph when they started to lay the foundations for the back of the temple. The "original plan" which this hypothesis would accept is little in keeping with that found in other temples in Egypt.² We never find an important group of rooms, such as the "Slaughtering Hall" and the "Hall of the Barques," interposed between the chapel and the back wall of the temple; if there are any rooms at all they are few and secondary, such as magazines for cult objects. That the rooms which actually form the western section of the temple were meant to

¹ PEET, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, III (35th Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund), 1 sqq.

² CAULFEILD, *Temple of the Kings*, 2 and 14.

occupy that innermost position from the beginning is, moreover, probable from the fact that they seem of a particularly sacred character, some of the Osiris mysteries being displayed in their reliefs. It seems hardly likely that a "processional way" led through them, as is assumed in Professor Petrie's reconstruction of the plan on one main axis. Obviously our objections to that reconstruction are based upon analogies which are not entirely safe, because the Abydos temple is in any case abnormal in that it possesses seven chapels in a row. This very arrangement, however, may explain why it was necessary to build the southern wing, because the rooms which are situated in that wing find elsewhere—in Seti's own temple in Gurnah, for instance—a place on either side of the chapel. In any case, whatever views one may hold of the original plan of the temple, the matter is too uncertain to justify us in invoking as its explanation the existence of an earlier building on the site of the Cenotaph, for there is not a single fragment found on the site, nor a feature in the building, to support that claim. We shall see that the very character of the edifice makes such an assumption highly improbable. Its purpose was of a purely personal nature: to provide an Osirian burial-place for its builder. This excludes rather than implies the existence of a predecessor, just as it excludes any further development once the building was closed after its owner's death.

Finally, there is important evidence given by an ostracon (Pl. XC and Chapter X) found in the entrance passage. From the epithet given after the king's name it seems to have been written while Seti I was still alive. This ostracon gives also the name of the building: "Seti is serviceable to Osiris," a name most appropriate to a structure which, as we shall now proceed to show, contained a peculiar burial-place for Seti as identified with Osiris.

2. THE PURPOSE OF THE BUILDING.

The view that the "Osireion" was a building antedating considerably the Nineteenth Dynasty must inevitably prevent those who hold it from recognising its real purpose. On that assumption the structure, restored by Seti I, could be nothing but a sanctuary, intended for the carrying out of some form of worship. Professor Borchardt alone, who claimed it to be contemporaneous with the temple of Seti, suggested that it might well be his Cenotaph. Though his views on the main features of our building differed greatly from those which we believe to be correct,¹ his general belief nevertheless is fully borne out by the results of our excavations.

As is well known, private persons, even when buried near their own town, were anxious to establish a funerary monument in the necropolis at Abydos, where legend would have it that Osiris was buried. Just so certain kings built at Abydos likenesses of tombs. As such are to be interpreted the structures of Sesostris III, of Aahmes and of Tetyshery, which Messrs. Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall discovered in the Egypt Exploration Fund's work on the site. The stela of Aahmes, in which the funerary monuments of his grand-

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 20.

mother Tetyshery are discussed, is, as Professor Borchardt has pointed out, especially explicit on this point (*Abydos*, III, Pl. LII, l. 9):—



“Her tomb and her cenotaph are at present upon the soil of the Theban and Thinite nomes (respectively).”

The cenotaphs at Abydos assumed, naturally, the appearance of ordinary tombs, with which, according to the belief which prompted their construction, they were identical, once the ritual burial was completed. The royal cenotaphs may thus be expected to resemble the royal tombs, and in fact our building finds its closest parallel in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes. We may recall here that we found not only the entrance at the north end of the long passage bricked up, but also that in front of it a vertical shaft was found without any slope or stairs to make approach to the entrance arch feasible. This already excludes the idea that the building

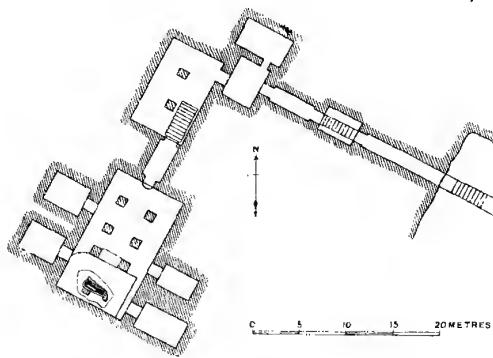


Fig. 1. Plan of tomb of Amenophis II.

was a place of worship in the ordinary sense, or that it was in regular practical use. The walls of the long passage which follows are covered with texts of a purely funerary character, paralleled for the most part in the tombs at Thebes. The plan of our building shows, exactly as in the Royal Tombs at Thebes (Fig. 1), the long, sloping entrance passage, then a few ante-chambers, and finally a Hall with square pillars, behind which comes the sarcophagus. Thus the square granite pillars in our Central Hall, so unusual in the Nineteenth Dynasty, are not to be explained by a Fourth Dynasty prototype like the Temple of the Sphinx, but merely by the intention on the part of the builders to imitate as closely as possible the actual royal tombs which were, at Thebes, hewn in the living rock. It is known, of course, that Seti I's own tomb has square pillars adorned with sculptures such as were to be engraved ultimately upon the pillars in the Central Hall of our building, as the remains of red-ink sketches show. It remains to explain two divergencies from the Theban plans.

In the first place, there is in our building a room, *viz.* that on the extreme east, where the Theban tombs have a sarcophagus; but our room is, in fact, itself nothing but one enormous sarcophagus. Its shape (Pl. XIX, 1) recalls *e.g.* the sarcophagus rooms

in the pyramids at Saqqarah, but suggests that it was, most probably, not meant to have an entrance at all, and in any case had none which would allow a sarcophagus to pass (*vide supra*, p. 22). Furthermore, the texts sculptured on its roof suggest that it replaced the sarcophagus. The texts and scenes (Pls. LXXIV–LXXXV) deal with Nut, the goddess of the sky. On the east side she is shown bending over the world of the dead, with King Seti standing between her outstretched arms; on the west wall she is shown lifted up from the earth by Shu, the god of the air. Now, as Dr. Rusch has shown,¹ it is just in the texts inscribed in the pyramids at Saqqarah that we can follow how Nut develops from a sky-goddess to a goddess of the dead. We cannot here, of course, go into the details of the theological speculations underlying those beliefs. As a starting-point there is the view that Nut gives birth every day to the Sun and the stars, and that therefore the dead, in order to be reborn as one of these heavenly bodies, must enter the body of Nut in heaven. One of the means to achieve this end was the magical identification of the sarcophagus chamber, or of the sarcophagus itself, with Nut. The description, in pictures or in words, of how in the beginning of creation Shu had lifted Nut, with all that was in her, from earth to heaven, was added, and this sufficed to ensure for the dead the blessed state to which he aspired. Dr. Rusch has shown that these views survived through all time, and Seti's own sarcophagus shows, by the fact that it contains within it a large figure of Nut,² that they were sympathetic to his mind. Thus there is little doubt that the most easterly room of our building—which shows the figures of Nut on the ceiling, as does the sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Ramses IX, and contains extensive references to the stars being borne by Nut—represents the room of which from the Sixth Dynasty onwards these texts have been characteristic, *viz.* the Sarcophagus Chamber.

If, then, the most easterly room of the Cenotaph merely presents a variant of the usual arrangement at Thebes, the Central Hall is indeed unparalleled in the royal necropolis. Thus it seems natural to explain its presence in the Cenotaph in connection with the one point in which the latter differed from the tomb, *i.e.* in the fact that it is situated in Abydos; indeed, its *raison d'être* lies in the fact that it forms part of the necropolis in which Osiris himself was buried. May we go one step farther and assume that its exceptional features originate from an attempt to imitate the actual burial of the god? This, indeed, has appeared possible. Moreover, before the results of our excavations became known, Professor Kees,³ and much more thoroughly Professor W. B. Kristensen in his remarkable treatise “*Het Leven uit de Dood*” (Life out of Death),⁴ have been able to explain a number of its features on the assumption that the building was a temple representing the Tomb of Osiris.

Let us consider once more the arrangement of the Central Hall. The entrance leads on to a ledge, with the water deep below; one stands closed in by two projecting piers,

¹ A. RUSCH, *Die Entwicklung der Himmelsgöttin Nut zu einer Totengottheit*, 1922.

² J. BONOMI, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah*, Pls. 16, 17.

³ KEES, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Aegypter*, p. 353.

⁴ W. B. KRISTENSEN, *Het Leven uit de Dood*, 88 sq. The leading thought of this work, a translation of which is certainly wanted, is that the Ancients, Egyptians as well as Greeks and Babylonians, conceived of immortality as attainable only through death, and that this mystery, which it is well-nigh impossible to express adequately in words, is over and over again hinted at in the manifold symbolisms of the ancient religions.

unable to reach either the island in the middle of the Hall or the ledge in front of the cells at the sides. On the other hand, there is a double flight of steps leading down from the island into the water. These were considered very important indeed; this is shown by the trouble taken in their construction: they were actually hewn into the large blocks of which the island is built, and the space which they occupy was left open from the beginning. We have seen that the construction of the Central Hall proceeded from east to west, and thus the steps on the western side of the island were not finished when the work had to be left. Nevertheless, they were considered so essential that they were at least partially indicated (Pl. XV, 1), though they lead nowhere. Thus there remains only one possibility: as the Central Hall, with its island and its water, can never have been used, it must have been merely the expression, in stone, of an idea. And, again, as was the case with the representations in the Sarcophagus Chamber, the oldest expression of this idea is to be found in a cosmogonic myth. In the beginning of creation, so the theology of Heliopolis taught, one spot on the earth, the Primeval Hill, had risen out of the Primeval Waters.¹ There the creator Rē stood, and there he stood again every morning at sunrise. Now in Egypt as elsewhere the setting and rising of the sun is symbolical of death and resurrection, and thus the Primeval Hill became, *par excellence*, the place where death was vanquished and life renewed. The extension of this idea, which in the end affected tombs, temples and ritual, cannot be followed up here. What is important for us is that it also attaches to itself the beliefs concerning Osiris. In the resulting fusion of beliefs the Primeval Hill became the appropriate place of burial for Osiris, the god whose most essential characteristic was that he had died and had been resurrected, and thus had reached immortality through his burial. Now, Professor Kristensen and Dr. de Buck have collected conclusive evidence to show that the Primeval Hill was habitually represented by a double flight of steps; and upon such steps we indeed find Osiris enthroned or entombed as ruler of the dead.² In their turn such steps acquired a symbolical meaning, and Professor Kristensen suggests that the burial of Osiris on the Primeval Hill is referred to in the famous "steps of Osiris at Abydos," near which every man prayed to be buried.³ Of course, his view that in our building we should actually possess these "steps" needs modification in the light of our discoveries put forth above. It is not simply "the steps of Osiris," as sanctuary for all, but the steps which Seti I built for his own ritual burial at Abydos, thus merely elaborating in a manner beyond his subjects' means the common belief that every dead person became Osiris. The essential part of the island is thus expressed, in the first place,

¹ The ideas connected with the Primeval Hill are studied by Dr. A. DE BUCK, *De Egyptische Voorstellingen betreffende den Oerheuvel*. See review by Dr. H. R. HALL, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, X, 185 sq.

² Particularly illuminating is a vignette in LANZONE, *Dizionario*, ccxi, which shows Osiris enthroned on the top of a double flight of steps, and again a mummy in Osirian form buried in the same flight of steps. See also BUDGE, *Greenfield Papyrus*, Pl. cviii.

³ *Op. cit.*, 88 sqq. The symbolic value of steps is very fully studied in that chapter. Even the temples, which rise in steps from the front towards the innermost sanctuary at the back, are founded upon this idea; and, according to Professor Kristensen, the pyramids are built in the shape of the Primeval Hill. The learned writer rightly remarks that the development of the pyramid out of a "step-pyramid" consisting of a number of superimposed mastabas cannot be explained on merely architectural grounds, but presupposes the definite purpose of obtaining the "stepped" structure which resulted. See the first vignette mentioned in note 2 (above).

by the double flight of steps appearing in the section along the east-west axis (Pl. II), and secondly by the fact that it is entirely surrounded by water. The cavities on the island may now also be understood. The most easterly one, which was square, may well have been meant to contain a shrine with the Canopic jars, the oblong one to its west, a sarcophagus. That the island could not simply take the form of a double flight of steps, such as appears in the two-dimensional representations (*e.g.* in papyri), is obvious; the translation of the idea into architecture brought with it the necessity to obtain a support for the pillars which were to carry the roof.

Now a very striking proof exists that our interpretation of the Central Hall is correct: this is contained in a remarkable vignette in the Papyrus of  in the British Museum.¹ There we see the representation of Nun, the god of the Primeval Waters, lifting up the Sun-boat, and above, Osiris encircling the Netherworld. This representation, to my knowledge, occurs only twice elsewhere, *viz.* on the sarcophagus of Seti I and in that king's Cenotaph, namely at the end of the entrance passage. This proves that the funerary monuments of Seti I and the papyrus reflect the same (none too common) group of ideas. Now, just as the picture of Nun is found at the end of the entrance passage before one turns to the Central Hall with its island and its water, so this same representation precedes, on the papyrus, an actual picture of a similar hall, drawn in the typical Egyptian way, partly in plan and partly in section.² We see the pillars in plan; a blue colour indicates the all-embracing waters; and below we see the double flight of steps, which we now know to be the representation of the Primeval Hill, with the Osirian dead upon it. Here is, again, a rendering of the idea, which in the Central Hall of the Cenotaph has, as far as we know, found architectural expression for the first and last time in Egyptian history.

The water in the canal of the Cenotaph, which thus in the first place represented Nun, the Primeval Waters, had at the same time, no doubt, another meaning. This is wholly in keeping with the Egyptian mentality, which considered it a particular nicety that symbols should possess multiple significance—that one single interpretation should not be the only possible one. Thus, the rise and fall of the water round the island in connection with that of the Nile will no doubt have been observed, and will have been brought into connection with Osiris, who as a chthonic god was supposed to be drowned every year in the water of the inundation, out of which, however, the earth, and thus the god, rose again.³ Thus, as Professor Junker has shown, his tomb in the island of Bige, near Philae, is covered every year with the inundation water,⁴ and in the late texts of the "Hour-watches" the place where the "drowned" Osiris is found is actually located

¹ Sir E. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead; Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefers, Anhai, etc.* British Museum, 1899, Pl. VIII.

² For this method of representation see SCHAEFER, *Von Aegyptischer Kunst*², 119, fig. 74 and *passim*.

³ On the Chthonic character of Osiris, denied by KEEF, see BONNET, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1927, 186 sqq.; KRISTENSEN, *loc. cit.*, 90 sqq.

⁴ H. JUNKER, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, LVI), 41 sqq.

"on that north shore of Abydos."¹ Thus there can hardly be any doubt that these traditions, as well as those discussed above, have played a part in the conception of Seti's Cenotaph at Abydos. At the same time they perhaps explain another feature.

The tree-pits which we found round the eastern side of the Cenotaph do not imitate a characteristic of the Royal Tombs at Thebes, where, in the scorched Valley of the Kings, no plantation could survive. But the mortuary temples, to the east of the actual tombs, possessed trees, which, as Maspero has shown, belonged definitely to every funerary establishment.² We may, in fact, doubt whether they belong, at Abydos, to the mortuary temple or to the Cenotaph, as they are planted between the two; such a distinction is, however, perhaps in conflict with the very spirit of the ancient Egyptian, for whom the tomb and the mortuary chapel are one. In any case it is interesting to note that Aahmes, in his inscription about the tomb and the cenotaph of Queen Tetyshery mentioned above, definitely refers to its lake and its trees.³ Now at Abydos a striking feature of our tree-pits is their depth like those at Deir el Bahri which also descend deeply, and as, moreover, they were planned to be built up simultaneously with the walls of the Central Hall (*vide supra*, p. 11), it may be that simply for that reason one started with them from the very bottom. However, it is just possible that the trees, which symbolised natural life eternally renewed, were meant to go down with their roots into the water of the canal, which, both as Primeval Water and as inundation water (the two are, moreover, repeatedly considered identical), represented the waters from which all natural life had sprung.

The island in the Central Hall possesses, like the water, a similar multiple meaning. The double flight of steps characterises it unambiguously as the Primeval Hill. But in its capacity of island it was equally suggestive of a number of religious ideas according to which the Sun-god lived or arose on an island where the blessed have their being. Professor Kristensen rightly draws attention to a text in the Book of the Dead which shows again that, in the New Kingdom, this island, originally at home in Heliopolis, was located at Abydos;⁴ and furthermore he refers to the remarkable belief concerning the pyramid of Cheops which Herodotus records as existing in his time (ii, 124): the rooms destined for the burial of Cheops are situated in an island, created by means of canals filled with water from the Nile. As Professor Kristensen points out, it is of little importance that we know this belief to have been erroneous; the important point is that it could be held. It explains once more how Seti I could plan his Cenotaph on the lines he did, and it is characteristic that it should be he, of all Egyptian rulers, who indulged in these elaborate arrangements for a ritual funeral at Abydos as well as for his actual burial at Thebes. The evidence Mr. Gunn obtained from an ostracon, found in our clearance of the entrance passage, confirms the fact that Seti took so much interest in his building activities at Abydos that he possessed a palace there (of which we knew nothing before), where he could stay to supervise in person the progress of the work (*vide infra*, Chapter X). And under

¹ H. JUNKER, *Die Stundewachen in den Osirismysterien* (Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Bd. LIV), 84.

² MASPERO, *Etudes de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptienne*, IV, 241 ff.

³ E. R. AYRTON, C. T. CURRELLY and A. E. P. WEIGALL, *Abydos*, III (Egypt Exploration Fund, 1906), Pl. LII, I. 10.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 93. Book of the Dead, xvii, 24 (Nav.), "The island of the justified is Abydos."

his reign we continually find recorded the restoration of temples, which shows, together with his building activities at Karnak, Thebes and Abydos, that he seriously attempted to bring about a revival of the old beliefs, which had been vindicated by the collapse of the Aten movement. Thus we find in his Cenotaph numerous references to Osirian beliefs and cosmogonic myths, all elaborately resuscitated without any attempt to harmonise the inconsistencies, which go so far that the Cenotaph possesses two places where the dead body was supposed to be laid ; first, the Sarcophagus Room with the Nut texts, modelled on the basis of old traditions as to royal burial as well as on contemporary usage, as a comparison with the Theban plans has revealed ; and secondly, the Osirian island in the Central Hall. But the dreariness of the texts which cover the Cenotaph, and to which we have now to turn, as well as the witless and senseless demonology which is displayed on the walls of Seti's tomb, prove how artificial the revival was, how hopelessly Egyptian religious life had become entangled in a blind alley, and how much, from a religious point of view, the reforms of "the criminal of Akhetaten" were justified.

3. THE LATER HISTORY OF THE BUILDING ; STRABO'S WELL.

The further history of Seti's Cenotaph is not very clear. We have seen that in the builder's reign the Sarcophagus Chamber alone was sculptured and inscribed, and that only partly. The texts for the entrance passage and ante-rooms must have been ready to be inscribed on the walls, as Seti's name appears twice in them by an oversight. We have also found reason to assume that he left the roof of the Central Hall unfinished. Ramessu II does not seem to have taken so much care of his father's Cenotaph as he did of his temple, which he prided himself on having completed, and according to the *Diary* Professor Naville suspected him in 1914 of stone-plundering. The appearance of a few blocks of the red sandstone inside the walls of the sanctuary of his own temple at Abydos suggest, even by their isolated and surreptitious utilisation, that the son has here usurped material from the father's Cenotaph. Hence the suspicion arises that the few large blocks of granite, which form door-jambs in Ramessu's temple, were originally intended to be roofing-slabs or coping-stones in Seti's Cenotaph ; they appear to be indistinguishable from the granite blocks used there. Merenptah had the east wall and the southern architrave (partly), and further, the sloping passage, the ante-rooms and the entrance passage inscribed. The Central Hall and the Sarcophagus Room remained unfinished, and the sculpturing of the entrance passage was only just begun. Since then the building seems to have remained deserted for a long time. The northern end of the entrance passage was apparently used as a hiding-place for valuables : a fine bronze vessel, 0.39 m. high and almost complete, was found there (Pl. XX, 5), besides a hoard consisting of Ptolemaic coins together with a fine string of Old Kingdom carnelian beads. In the filling of the passage a number of small Demotic and a few Coptic ostraca were discovered, some sculptor's models and sketches, and fragments of a remarkable black-figured Greek vase, with two small ring-shaped handles in each of which a loose pottery ring was fixed (now in the Ashmolean Museum ; see Pl. XX, 3). A number of loose coins were also found, and Mr. J. G. Milne, who kindly undertook to examine them, and whose remarks are appended

to this chapter, concludes that "the site where they were found was frequented throughout the Ptolemaic period and the first half of the first century A.D." But it is true that a number of these coins may have worked their way down from the surface into the filling of the passage in the course of repeated excavations followed by intervals of silting up in recent years.

Strabo's Well.—Nevertheless, it is remarkable that within this period Strabo visited Abydos, and since the following description comes immediately after the Seti temple ("Memnonium") is mentioned, there can be no doubt, to my mind, that the Cenotaph is referred to, and that it was used in the first century A.D. in just the same way as it has been used since in 1914 the channel was cleared again—as a well for the villagers. Strabo, after having described the temple (xvii, 1) says: "*And there is a well there, situated at a depth, and thus one descends to it through a vault of monoliths, exceeding in size and workmanship. There is a channel leading to this place from the Great River. Round the channel there is a grove of Egyptian acanthus, sacred to Apollo.*" In this description there are a few points which appear at first sight difficult to harmonise with the Cenotaph as we know it. However, it seems impossible to claim the existence of a structure such as Strabo describes close to the temple, of which no trace would come down to us. And the discrepancies between Strabo's text and the actual remains can easily be explained. We have seen that the Central Hall was partly filled with sand at the period when the building was used as a quarry, in Coptic times. It is therefore probable that in Strabo's days also this was the case, so that the arrangement of an island surrounded by a channel, which one would otherwise expect him to mention, was not at all apparent to him. Ingress could not be obtained by the arch at the north end of the entrance passage, because we found it still bricked up with Seti's bricks, and the hoard and the copper pot found at about ten metres distance from the entrance show that all this part of the entrance passage was never used. The brick vault had, however, collapsed from about six metres south of the entrance up to the point where the stone-work starts, and here persons may well have entered the building. As day-light could not enter the passage and ante-rooms, Strabo on his descent to the water of the Central Hall may have mistaken the pitch-roof for a vault, and the pairs of large blocks which roofed over the (equally unlighted) Transversal Room he may well have remembered as monoliths under the influence of the roofing-stones of the Central Hall, where daylight entered because the roof was not finished and where, in the examination of the marvellous granite work and the water, the climax of his visit to our monument was reached. Thus it can easily be understood that in his account the monoliths and the vault appear combined, while in reality they are two separate things. Finally, Strabo's reference to a canal leading from his well to the Nile need not at all be taken too literally. The rise and fall of the water in the Cenotaph in accordance with that of the Nile is too striking a fact to be ignored by the villagers who showed Strabo round; and the assumption that a subterranean conduit existed was only natural, the more so as the ostracon discussed in Chapter X confirms the fact that Abydos was connected with the Nile by a canal, which may then as now have come up to the edge of the cultivation, just in front of the temple; one had therefore merely to assume that a connection between this canal and the Cenotaph existed underneath the temple. The grove of Egyptian acanthus would actually stand about this surmised water-conduit if Strabo

means by it the trees in the tree-pits, which seems probable from the context; otherwise he might be taken equally well to refer to trees standing in front of the temple near the true canal.

The Cenotaph in Coptic times would have been dealt with by Professor Whittemore in a later chapter; but his manuscript has not been received. It is hoped that it will be published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. We may merely state now the evidence which showed us that the Copts were here, as elsewhere, the destroyers of what their betters had created in the past. In the entrance passage small rough pillars cut from the sandstone of the roof and the walls proved the identity of the stone-robbers, and in the Central Hall they had, as it were, left their signature. Unable to handle the huge blocks of granite they inserted rows of dry wooden wedges, which when moistened cracked the blocks by their expansion. On one of the blocks which we had to remove, the row of rectangles where the holes for the wedges were to be cut, was outlined in red ink, and with the same red ink the block was marked with a Coptic cross. Two huge granite millstones, unfinished, which are still lying near the ruined building, testify to the purpose of their vandalism.

APPENDIX: THE COINS.

By J. G. MILNE.

The following list includes all the coins that can be identified, the references given being, for Ptolemaic to Svoronos' *Corpus*, for Roman to Dattari's *Numi Alexandrini*.

PTOLEMAIC.

Ptolemy II	Æ	2 drachmas	Sv. 446 (2)	
		1 diobol	„ 449	
		2 obols	„ 439, 467	
		2 half-obols	„ 416, 442	= 7 Æ.
Ptolemy III	Æ	4 drachmas	„ 964, 974 (2), 992	
		3 half-drachmas	„ 965 (2), 993	
		1 diobol	„ 966	= 8 Æ.
Ptolemy IV	Æ	1 drachma	„ 1125	
		4 half-drachmas	„ 1127 (2), 1128, 1167	
		1 diobol	„ 1169	= 6 Æ.
Ptolemy VI-XIII	Æ	2 obols (= 80 Æ dr.)	„ 1384 (2)	
		16 chalki (= 10 Æ dr.)	„ 1426 (16)	= 18 Æ.
Ptolemy X	Æ	1 chalkus (= 10 Æ dr.)	„ 1714	
Ptolemy XIII	AR	2 tetradrachms	„ 1866, 1869	= 2 AR.
Cleopatra VII	AR	8 tetradrachms	„ 1815, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1832, 1833, 1834	= 8 AR.
Barbarous copy	Æ	1 drachma	„ 1917	= 1 Æ.

ROMAN OF ALEXANDRIA.

Claudius	Bi 1 tetradrachm 5 diobols	D. 123 (?) ,, 138, 139, 142, 166, 178	= 1 Bi., 5 AE.
Domitian	AE 1 diobol	,, 528	= 1 AE.
Antoninus Pius	AE 1 half-drachma	,, 2549 (type, but smaller, with radiate head)	= 1 AE.

LATER.

Constantius II	AE Cohen 45	= 1 AE.
Miniature AE copy of Byzantine AE follis of 12 nummia		= 1 AE.

There were also about thirty fragmentary or decayed pieces of metal which had once been coins: three appeared to have been late Ptolemaic, one probably of Augustus, one of Claudius, and one of Vespasian; only one looked like third-century Roman. In the worst cases the disintegration had gone so far that there were merely lumps of mud coloured by salts of copper: analysis of one of these showed no trace of silver, so they were presumably the remains of bronze coins, not of billon tetradrachms.

The conclusion to be derived from these coins is that the part of the site where they were found was frequented throughout the Ptolemaic period and the first half of the first century A.D., but was seldom visited afterwards. The last piece on the list is however interesting, as it is clearly of the fabric of class G of the copies described in "The Currency of Egypt in the fifth century" (*Num. Chron.*, 1926, 43), and is the first evidence that the making of this class went on till the sixth century, as the type from which it is copied was not issued till the reign of Justinian.

PART II. TEXTS.

CHAPTER IV.

INTRODUCTION; THE EAST WALL OF THE ENTRANCE PASSAGE.

A FEW texts found in the Cenotaph are of importance; they are sculptured on the roof of the Sarcophagus Chamber, and one contains directions for the making and the use of a shadow clock (Chapter VIII), while the other belongs to that rare and ancient class of "Dramatic Texts," the meaning and character of which has only recently been recognised.

The large majority of the texts, however, are closely related to those found in the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Some of them are not represented there, others are only known in a later and more corrupt version. Yet it is not attempted to deal exhaustively with them in the present publication. We need only refer to the *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien* as an example of what such a treatment of New Kingdom funerary literature implies, and of the futility of any attempt to discuss isolated versions of its texts. But it would obviously by far surpass the scope of a memoir like the present, as well as the competence of its author, to build up the necessary critical apparatus, or even to establish what faint traces of true religious sentiment or interesting mythology may yet be found in the barren waste of late Egyptian beliefs, supposing even that such research could be undertaken at the moment with any chance of success. But, after the Pyramid and the Coffin texts, no doubt those of the New Kingdom will be treated comprehensively; and we intend merely to provide for that undertaking a reliable copy of those particular versions which occur in Seti's Cenotaph. We have used the Theban parallels as far as they are published; it could naturally not be our task to search at Thebes for further parallels or better readings. We have ventured also to give in the following pages a provisional translation of the texts not translated elsewhere, as far as the badly damaged inscriptions allow of translation. I should hardly have dared to do so, however, were it not that my friend Dr. A. de Buck, who was in London during the summer of 1928, granted me the privilege of going through the manuscript of these chapters with him. Obviously he is not to be held responsible for what follows, except where a bracketed initial (B) indicates that a translation or a commentary is due to him. But I want particularly to state here that his learning and his exceptionally close acquaintance with Egyptian religious literature has been of the greatest benefit to the translation as a whole, and has put me under a deep obligation.

Dr. de Buck deals in a separate chapter with the extraordinary "Dramatic Text" found in the Sarcophagus Room, of which a copy, based upon a renewed collation carried out by Dr. de Buck in 1928, is given in Plates LXXXIV-V.

With the exception of a few traces of texts in the Transversal Room, all texts were photographed, and the negatives are kept for reference at the Offices of the Society. But the labour and the cost involved in a complete facsimile publication would have been enormous, and would not have been justified in the case of texts of which several and more

Pls. XXII-
XXIV. or less similar versions existed already. The manner of publication adopted for the various texts is therefore not uniform throughout the volume, and is accounted for under each of the following sections separately.

THE EAST WALL OF THE ENTRANCE PASSAGE. (Pls. XXII-XLIX.)

The state of preservation of these inscriptions is exceptionally bad. They are hastily and roughly painted on a thin lime-plaster, which has often cracked or flaked off altogether. The copy was made in Indian ink upon photographs, which often showed but the very faintest traces of the signs. The quality of the drawings which illustrate the texts is of the very worst. Small letters in the figures indicate the colours of the originals.

We felt obliged to copy this wall completely before closing down in 1926, because the exposure after the excavation, with its change in moisture and free access of sun and wind, increased the damage to an extent which made us fear that not all that could be seen then and there would still be discernible in the following season. And we found, in fact, on our return in 1927, that large portions had indeed become unreadable. It may be added that care has been taken that each group of texts was collated by a member of the staff who had not made the original copy.

GROUP I. A.—The texts start near the entrance with a figure of the king offering a statuette of Maat to Horus (Pl. XXII) :

“Words said by King Merenptah: I come to thee, son of Osiris, provided with ‘Truth,’ every day; I offer her to thee. There is aversion against untruth in my time, while I am upon the earth.”

B.—The figures given in this section (Pl. XXIII) are mentioned in the succeeding texts. Here, as all along the walls of this passage, the figures are divided into three horizontal sections, and the lowest is reserved in all cases for the “enemies” or damned. The scene recurs in LEFÉBURE, *Hypogées Royaux*, III, Pl. x.

C.—(Cf. LEFÉBURE, *loc. cit.*, II, Pls. 24 ff.; III, Pls. IX, XXXVI, XXXVIII).—
(1) [O Ye gods who are in the Netherworld, the] first cavern of the West, Doorkeepers of the Districts of the Land of the Dead, Ennead of the Ruler of the West: I am Re who is in Heaven. I enter the Darkness (2) [I open the Gate of Heaven in the West. Behold,] I enter the Land of the West. Receive me, your arms towards me! Behold, I know your place in the Netherworld. (3) [Behold I know your names], your caverns, and your secrets. I know from what you live when Duaty gives command to you that you should live¹: [your throat] breathes (4) [when you hear the words of Osiris.—Now after I have entered] the

¹ At first sight one might be inclined to translate the subordinate clause as a qualification of “from what you live” and to continue “namely from . . .” But this seems impossible as *im* is missing at the end of the subordinate clause (after the second *nḥtn*). Consequently we would here have an instance of *sdm-tf* after *m*, of which no certain example was known till now (GARDINER, *Grammar*, § 407, 2). Yet it would not only fit in well with the general meaning of this use of the *sdm-tf* (*ibid.*: it “refers to a particular moment when an act takes place or a state comes into being”), but also with the sense of our text; for it is only the following sentence which paraphrases “from what they live.” Notice that *skr* is misspelt for *srk*, which is preserved in the tomb of Ramses IV.

Netherworld and have taken the roads of the West, you are pacified, your souls are strong ; Pl. XXIV. you are powerful in your caves. You have heard (5) [my words. I have called you by your names.—Said] Re to the gods who are in the first cavern of the Netherworld : O He-nu-yty serpent, who is in its cavern, one great of fearfulness, first of the Netherworld : (6) [curb your arm and restrain your arm.¹ Behold I] enter the beautiful West to take care of Osiris, to greet those who are in him. I put his enemies in the place of their slaughter. I (7) [command his followers. I brighten] the darkness of the Impassable Place.—O Ne-ha-her serpent, who is in its cave, and to whom those who are in the Netherworld hand over the souls of the Place of Destruction² (8) [curb thine arm, etc.]—(9) O Yonder Sa-ta serpent, bent around (?) Rosetau for (?) the Ruler of the Netherworld, curb thine etc.—(11) [O that Ennead] of uraei whose flames are upon their mouths to burn the enemies of Osiris, curb etc. (13) O Ennead which is behind the Bull of the West, curb etc. (15) [O Ye gods who are in secrecy, Chiefs of] the Netherworld, behold I have entered the West, I have passed its first cavern, I have spoken to those who are in it. Even what I have said (16) [they have done. It is that which I have commanded on account of which they are pacified.] They have curbed their arms and restrained their arms for me. Behold I have passed by you. You have done [likewise].—O Ennead of gods, (17) [at peace upon the secret abodes, lords of . . . , great] of sleeping-places, who feel at home in (B) the darkness.—O Ennead of gods, great of silence in the Land of the West, being (18) [Guardians of Souls, Masters of Needs in the West], who throw forward their faces like dogs³ to swallow what is rotten and decayed.—O yonder god great of form (19) [in whose charge are the secrets⁴ of Osiris, (?) great of jaw for the Chief of the] Netherworld ; O that goddess great of mystery, upon whom is the decay of Osiris, to whom is entrusted the nature of the Ruler of the West (?),⁵ (20) [gods, curb your arm and restrain your arm for me. Behold,] I enter the West to take care of Osiris, to greet those who are in him ; I put his enemies in the place of their slaughter. (21) [I command his followers, I brighten the darkness of the] Impassable Place ; you are beings at peace in your abodes, corpses which are powerful, souls which hear (22) [. . . my words. O behold, I pass by you.] He breathes (viz.) who sees me, he breathes (viz.) who exults about my being (B).—O Osiris, Chief of the Netherworld, I am Re. (23) [Give me thine arm. I am Lord of souls, powerful of past, whose fear is amongst the] Westerners. I take care of the Netherworld inhabitants, I cause that the souls rest upon their corpses. Now after I have settled on my corpse (24) [the Netherworld is . . .] O Ennead of Osiris, judging

¹ It is strange that, with an insistence which excludes the metaphoric use (*curb your arm* for *do homage*), arms are mentioned in connection with the serpents which are here one after the other invoked. I presumed therefore, that *arm* might stand here euphemistically for *fang*, and Dr. de Buck tells me that *hn* is said in Ptahhotep of the mouth, and thus, in the sense of *to restrain*, tallies well with the view that our text is a charm to preserve the dead from the bites of the poisonous snakes of the Netherworld.

² Or, alternatively : to whom are handed over those who are in the Netherworld, (namely) the souls of the Place of Destruction. (B.)

³ This alternative is preferred by Dr. de Buck to the rendering above : “whose faces have the shape of (those of) dogs to swallow, etc.”

⁴ In Ramses VI. *ss* perhaps for *ss̄t̄*.

⁵ Ramses VI. has the same enigmatic group of signs, which may perhaps, in parallelism with *Osiris*, be emended to *hk̄ imnt*. Cf. e.g. Group II, line 58.

Pl. XXIV. in the Netherworld of Osiris, the Chief of the Westerners, whose followers rest in (his? their?) chapel (25) [. . .] . . . give me your arm. O Ennead in (26) [Osiris, guide me to the roads of the Netherworld and of your hidden caves.] I call those who are in the Impassable Place. I protect them, I take care of them, I brighten them, I expel their darkness, I cause them to rest (27) [in their thrones, in their thrones. I] command thy followers. I brighten the darkness of the Impassable Place. Thou art a great one, upon his secrets, . . . (28) [. . . O great ennead of goddesses . . .] . . . for the Great One in the West (?) of the gods who are in their abodes, honourable ones who are followers of the Chiefs of the Westerners (?) (29) [. . .] . . . O Isis, O Nephthys, ye two great goddesses of the West, give ye your arms, join ye your protection (30) [. . . O . . . secret] of forms in the cavern of Osiris, thine is the shape of the Chief of the Netherworld; thou hast become him (or: come from him); He has placed thee in his cavern. Thine is his corpse (31) [. . . Give me your arm, receive me,] lead me to the roads of the West, [so that I may] cause to live the corpses which are there, and cause that their souls rest upon them and that they breathe and brighten (32) [the darkness . . .] . . . O ye gods, Ennead which is in Osiris, whose enemies I put to the place of their slaughter; I command you, I [brighten (33) the darkness of the Impassable Place . . .] O Urta serpent, great of strength, who moves and whose inhabitants move; O Sedety serpent, great of flame, giving his glow . . . (34) . . . O serpents, O those lower serpents of the Lower Netherworld of Osiris (B),¹ Doorkeepers of him who is hidden (35) [of councils, from whose caves there is no coming forth . . . (?)] I call out your names without your seeing me (? ?, B); I place you in the Place of Destruction. O Doorkeepers of what is great of Darkness, (36) [I cause you to remain in your places, surely] (B). I have made instructions for you² that you do the guarding of the enemies of Osiris; O you from whose fingers there is no escape,³ remain ye (37) [in your places, equipped in (or, with) your caverns in] the Lower Netherworld of Osiris, to guard his enemies. You are those "Sons of the Earth" to whom I have commanded to guard (38) [. . . revolters . . .] to cut the necks of the beheaded ones, to cut off the necks of the destroyed ones. You are those who do this which I command to you, "Sons of the Earth," . . . (39) You are the enemies of Osiris, casting evil in the Hidden Land; I hand you over to the "Sons of the Earth." (40) [You will not escape from their custody, surely] . . . I hand them over to the Place of Destruction, O destroyers, O beheaders of the enemies of Osiris. (41) [.] corpse. Behold I pass those who are over you (? your doors ??, B). I put you to your evil, I hand over (42) [. . . those who possess evil] in the Place of Destruction. O big serpents, Sons of the Earth, Doorkeepers of the Place of Destruction, (43) [you guard . . .] I pass by your cavern to rest in the Beautiful West, to create the Place of their Slaughter (?) against them, to destroy

¹ Dr. de Buck's suggestion that one should translate here "Lower Netherworld" is well in keeping with the representations on the wall, where the enemies are consistently pictured in the lowest register, which contains evidently the most terrifying parts of the Netherworld.

² Our text is garbled here; Ramses VI. has *wd-n-i n-tn shrw*.

³ This is the translation which Dr. de Buck prefers, though admitting that the use of the second person after *db^cw* instead of the third, as one would expect, is remarkable. The absence of a resumptive pronoun, on the other hand, makes it difficult to translate, as one would like, "and who do not escape from your fingers." With the translation here adopted one has to take the Old Perfective *mn-tywny* with an imperative sense, well in keeping with the use of *iry-tn* just before.

(44) [their souls, to wipe out their shadows, to destroy their corpses] to . . . their power, Pls. XXIV-
XXVI. . . . thy enemies. O Ruler of the West

D.—Groups of standards and gods (Pl. XXV).

GROUP II. (Parallel : LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 26 ff.)

(1) The second cavern of the first.—What this great god says when he approaches those who are in it: O serpent which is in its cave, Doorkeeper of those who are in it, and who do not go forth from its custody. (2) This one whose head is in the dark and whose tail is in the secrets of the cavern in which it is, making itself its place in the West because of the greatness of the secrecy of its shape¹ for those who are in its cave: “Dark-of-Head”! I pass through thy cavern (3) to see Him whose name is hidden, to take care of the West, to pass through the Impassable Place. I am indeed hidden. I pass thy arms and thy head. I pass. Thou art this serpent, “Dark-of-Head,” (4) which does not come forth from thy cavern, from which those who are in it do not come forth. (5) O thou who art secret of arms, hidden of legs, second snake “Dark Face,” O Sesy strong of flame, giving fire to those who approach to him. (6) O Neshay serpent, whose eyes are destroying, of whom the inhabitants of the Netherworld are frightened when they see him O serpents, O these serpents which are doorkeepers of Him whose name is hidden: (7) Behold I reach your caves, I pass through the Impassable Places of the Netherworld, my disk having entered the Impassable Place to light those who are in their darkness, to take care of those who are in their abodes. (8) I the enemies to the Place of Destruction. O Doorkeepers of Osiris, serpents which are in the Impassable Place, I pass by your caves to see Him whose name is hidden, (9) to take care of the West, to pass through the Impassable Netherworld. You hide; I [pass] by you when you show your heads (B). I pass. You are those Doorkeepers who do not come forth from their (10) caverns, from which those who are in them do not come forth; O yonder nine gods who are in charge of the secrets of those who (?) are in their abodes, masters of manifestations who are upon their souls, who have power over their corpses, (11) Neariu, Masters of needs who have become Osiris; O those who are in Mekhenty-n-irty, gods who have become Horus, Masters of needs (12) in the Netherworld who are powerful upon [their corpses], who are prepared of soul on their decay. O those who follow those who are in the Netherworld (13) . . . O these great gods who are in Behold I call to you; your souls they are powerful therein while you are hidden in your caves, (14) your corpses at rest in their abodes. Behold me, your faces are towards me (?), B, my face is towards you. I am one who protects his soul and himself (B), a great god in the caverns of the Netherworld. (15) I pass through the impassable places of the hidden land; I cause the souls upon their corpses after I have spoken to you. O behold I speak to you; praise me, O those who are in their (16) abodes. O gods, O these gods who are in I pass your caverns to see Him whose name is hidden, to take care of the West, to pass through the Impassable Netherworld. (17) Your souls come forth, your souls are powerful, they settle [indeed upon your corpses]. Your souls, I call to them, and they pass behind me. They guide me.—You are those who are in Osiris, Lords of Souls,

¹ Ramses VI. has *n c't n.*

Pls. XXVI-
XXVII. (18) great of needs, whose custodian Horus is, and whose avenger is (B), causing (?) that their souls go forth.—Thy going (be) with me, O Chief of the Netherworld! (19) I enter the earth from which I have come forth. I have acknowledged my first birth (?).

(20A) O goddess of the Netherworld, Chief of the Netherworld, Westerner who saved herself ;

(21A) O She who protects her soul (B) and avenges her corpse, who is in the Impassable Netherworld ;

(22A) O She whose soul lives and whose shadow is powerful and who protects those who are in the West ;

(23A) O She who is equipped of face, great of secrets, powerful of heart against those who are in her cavern ;

(24A) O Corpse-goddess of decay, whose decay is not approached (? , B).

(20B) O She who protects her soul so that those who are in the Place of Destruction hear ;

(21B) O She who protects the nature of those who are in her, the goddess equipped with her virtue ;

(22B) O gods of Decay, Lords of Foulness, O She who is powerful of arm in the guarding of goddesses ;

(23B) O Ye seven goddesses, great of councils in the Impassable Place, (24B) Powerful of souls and of corpses : O behold I have entered the earth, I have become as the opening of the Netherworld, (25) I myself have split her open for the first time, If there is life for my soul, there is life for you ; if he is powerful (26) in me, you are powerful. I am the only one who has established your thrones and who takes care of you. Rejoice over me, O Goddesses, rejoice over me, (27) O those who are in their abodes. You speak to him whose name is hidden. You shall be as a protection of Osiris. After I have come to you you lead my soul to my corpse. It is you whose souls I guide (B) (28) to the abodes which contain your corpses. I light you, I drive away your darkness ; O seven goddesses who are in the Impassable Place, I pass by your caverns (29) to see him whose name is hidden, to take care of the West, to pass through the Impassable Netherworld. Your souls come forth ; your souls are powerful. Your corpses are pacified in (30) your abodes. Your souls, I call to them. They pass behind me ; they guide me. You are¹ these goddesses great of needs [in the West, embracing (or, encountering)] the secret (31) figures in the place of Him whose name is hidden, the decayed one (?), the Lord of Decay, who guards the corpses of (?) the goddesses great of needs in his guarding (32) Behold I enter the earth from which I have gone forth. I am satisfied on account of my first birth (?).

(33A) O Horus Mekhenti-n-irty, in the caves of the Mourners, god great of power (34A) in the West, Saviour of those who are with him ;

(35A) O Mourner,² great of hair-tearing, loud of shouting in the West ;

(36A) O Weeping one, powerful of howling (B), loud of voice in the districts of the Necropolis ;

¹ *ntn* probably miswritten for *nttn*. Cf. e.g. line 17.

² Ramses VI. : no plural strokes.

(37A) O Sniveller, Chief Mourner, unique god who mourns over himself ;

(38A) O Establisher of arm of those who are behind him, who is under the water which comes forth from their eyes (B) ;

(33B) O thou whose voice "Tired of Heart" hears,¹ so that he joins together indeed his limbs for him ;

(34B) O 'Auy·f-em-rekher·f, at whose calling the Netherworld inhabitants come indeed ;

(35B) O He who unites himself in his weeping, hearing his own voice, whose soul lives ;

(36B) O Hairy One, wailing, having raised his voice, who calls and the souls call (?) .

(37B) O One dark of face, in the Necropolis, who calls and, indeed, the souls breathe ;

(38B) O these six gods mourning because of Osiris, weeping because of the Lord of the Netherworld : Behold I pass by you, I pass by your caverns ; I call to you He of the Netherworld, he is satisfied with your voice. [Mourners] (40) who are in the Netherworld, hidden of face, with long hair (?), raising your voice to me. I call to you, I am satisfied with your calling (41) I lighten you, O mourners. I cause you to be satisfied with your affairs. You give me jubilation (?). You live, you rejoice in me. You are powerful. You call to the Chief of the (42) Netherworld, you call to him whose name is hidden. You guide me and I pass by you. It is he who protects your souls. I cause you to have power over my light. I expel for you the darkness which is upon you. (43) O these gods, mourners who are in the Netherworld, in the Impassable Place, I pass by the caverns to see Him whose name is hidden, (44) to take [care of the West], to pass through the Impassable Netherworld. Your souls come forth, your souls are powerful when I call to them. You are those who laugh (cry) and who call, those in the Netherworld (45) in the West on account of Osiris, Chief of the Netherworld, who are great of wailing, masters of needs, who are over the lock of hair in the land of the West. I enter the earth from which I have gone forth. (46) [I am satisfied (?) on account of my] first birth. O hidden gods, council of the Chief of the Netherworld, inhabitants of the Abode, powerful of souls, satisfied, (47) [Masters of needs]. Behold I enter your cavern, I give to you an arm in your cavern. I cause your souls to rest upon you. I make you flourishing (B) upon your corpses. I am (48) [he who enters his birth], satisfied as one whose body is rejuvenated. I am Re entering the Darkness. I brighten the Netherworld with my disk. O remain hidden ones in the place (49) Behold, the hidden souls come while your corpses are in your caverns (51A) [O Westerner who is] in his cave, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(52A) [O Duaty in] the Netherworld, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(53A) [O Lord of long hair], baboon, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(54A) [O Lord] in the Netherworld, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(55A) [O Great one] of the Necklace, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(56A) [O Lord of the serpents] in the Hidden Room, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(50B) O Mistress of Fire, great of flame, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(51B) O Phoenix, soul of the people of the Netherworld, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(52B) O Henhenu, who lifts his arm, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

¹ Ramses VI. : no plural strokes.

Pls. XXVII-
XXVIII. (53B) O Lord of Offerings, great one of the offering-table, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(54B) O Lord of the Head-dress, equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(55B) O Crowned one, great of , equipped with the shape of Osiris ;

(56B) O behold, you Westerners, you are satisfied when I speak to you. You avenge (57) I give Neruty [as] your protection.¹ I am your avenger. You breathe when I pass by you. O Ennead, (58) Westerners, Chiefs of the Netherworld, shapes of Osiris, forms of the Ruler of the West, Court of the Chief of the Westerners (59) I pass by your caves [to] see Him whose name is hidden, to perform the Transformations of the West, to pass through the Impassable Netherworld (60) Your souls are powerful, your souls, I call to them : You are those Netherworld inhabitants. . . . I enter (61) [the earth after I have gone forth] from it. I am satisfied on account of my first birth (?). Gods, ye gods whom I pass by, Hail (?) (62) my disk ; those who are in the earth, who give praise when I approach your caverns, jubilate over me. I (63) O ye gods ! (Place) your arms on the coffin of Osiris, great of necessities, secret of forms, of which these secret and powerful heads are the protection (? , B) (64) Snake goddess, hidden of forms, my eye and my disk, they light him ; the eye of the Chief of the Netherworld is undamaged (65) They breathe You are those gods who protect what pertains to the Netherworld, the great secret of the West

(66A) O Raty, protecting the secrets, who puts his arms upon the secret box ;

(67A) O he whose heart is hidden, protecting what is hidden,

(66B) Dark-of-Face, protecting

(67B) O A^cfny, protecting,

(68) jubilate about me, when I enter my earth, when I on your secrets, this decay of the Chief of the Netherworld. Behold (69) remain in your caverns (my disk goes (?) I give) the powerful as guardian² (70) I pass by you, O gods in charge of the secrets of Osiris, who are in the Hidden Place, (71) I pass by your caverns to see Him whose name is hidden, (72) [to take care of the West, to pass through the Impassable Place]. Your souls go forth, your souls are powerful when I call to them : You are those secret gods who are (73) [Chiefs of the Netherworld. I enter the earth after I have gone forth] from it. I am satisfied with my first birth. O behold I am passing by thee (74) The West gives its arms to me, straight is for me her first cavern. O behold I am calling to those who are in you. (75 blank.)

(76) O Osiris, Lord of the White crown, giving commands to his son Horus ;

(77) O Osiris, Chief of the Netherworld, Lord of the Caverns, Ruler of the Caves ;

(78) O Osiris, who makes the road straight, Lord of roads, Numerous of passages ;

(79) O Osiris, Lord of the Ennead, whose words destroy his enemies ;

(80) O Osiris, who destroys his enemies and who causes to perish the souls who revolt against him. (81) O these twelve gods who follow Osiris, coming forth from him. You are (82) Court of him who is in the Netherworld, to those of Horus when calling, distinguished of form (B). (83) O Figure who is in its abode, Lord of the two horns, great in its cavern (84A-87A) my disk to your cave.

¹ Cf. line 69 *infra*, and Group VII, H, 1. 5.

² Cf. line 57 *supra*.

(84B) O A'a'au, who came forth from me, behold I approach and take care of you.

(85B) O Utyu, who came forth from me, behold I am passing to the place where you are.

(86B) O Nebsa upon my own corpse after his corpse in the Hidden Land.

(87B) Gods in my following who came forth from me, gone forth from my body.

(88) who are behind me, you speak with your souls, I light you, I cut through your ties (B) (89) I am your protector (90) followers of Osiris, Court of the Chief of the Netherworld, O Ogdoad corpses (91) [behind the great gods in the West] in the Impassable Place. I pass by your caverns to see [Him whose name is hidden] (92) your souls are powerful when I call to them: You are these gods of the Court, great in judging (93) [celebrating Osiris; you are those gods] who are behind me, secret of forms; I enter the earth from which I have gone forth, I [am satisfied] on account of my first birth (?).

(94A) O beheaded ones, without head in the Place of Terror,

(95A) O fallen ones, without souls in the Place of Terror,

(96A) O Upside down ones, tethered in the Place of Terror,

(94B) O Overthrown ones bleeding, whose hearts have been taken away in the Place of Terror,

(95B) O Enemies of the Lord of the Netherworld, Osiris, Chief of the Westerners, Behold I (96B) give you over to the Place of Terror, I hand you over to non-existence (B). (97) you are enemies O behold I (98) I give you over to the Place of Terror, and your souls do not go forth. O Osiris, behold (99) [I have passed]. Thy ways are straight for me (B). Behold my disk passes behind [me]. He gives birth to me, I give birth to him (100) my disk. They straighten for me¹ (?) the roads of the Netherworld, they cause me to rest in (101) [their caves. I enter the cavern which is in] I light the great secret which is under him, (102) thy soul upon his corpse. Thy soul passes through the Netherworld, thy cave in thy cavern (103) [How satisfied is Osiris, How pleased are the souls of the Netherworld] Thou breathest when I pass by you. O Osiris, Ruler of the Netherworld in the Hidden Place, (104) [I pass by thy cave to see] thy corpse and forms which thou hast hidden under the Aker, secret and unknown (B), to take care of the West, to pass through the Impassable Netherworld, (105) [to let your soul spread itself over your corpse] in this secret cavern in which Aker is to protect you in your place of secrecy, (106) [to strike misfortune into thine enemies, Osiris, Ruler of the West, Lord] of the secrets in the Impassable Place. Behold, I have entered the earth from which I have gone forth, and I am satisfied with my first birth.

GROUP III.

TOP REGISTER.

A. A Ram-headed god in tunic and with a long staff bows towards the right. In front of him is possibly written: *His secret words*. Then follow nine lines of text, apparently paralleled by LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 5 C, but too damaged to translate. Behind there are four

¹ Ramses VI. : *m:i·n:i*.

Pls. XXX-
XXXI. black Osiride figures, named in LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 6 : *Osiris, Chief of the Westerners ; Sapep ; Deba ; Meny*. Our text gives only the first name. With each one is a column of text : in this fashion. This great god, he speaks to him when he sees the rays of his disk.

BOTTOM REGISTER.

B. Four black men with hands lifted in adoration, each one marked : *the noxious one*. The text runs : *This is in this fashion : those who do not see the rays of the disk of Re, who do not hear his words, they are in twilight (?), their souls do not go forth from the earth, they do not rest upon their corpses. Re throws their evil (against them) after he has passed by them*.

C. Six vertical lines of text (Cf. LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 37 A).

Re says to this cavern : O Enemies, these enemies, upside down, without shadow, O those whose souls do not turn over, their eyes (?) being in their shadows (?). You are the enemies of Osiris, his enemies who have no souls. You are dark ones, whose souls are taken away from your corpses whose souls do not go forth from under his arm. You do not see my rays. You do not have power over my rays.

D. Four black women with arms lifted in adoration towards the left ; behind them one man. Over them text : *They are in twilight. This is in this fashion : Those who do not see the light of Re, who do not hear his words. They are in twilight, they do not see the light of Re, their souls do not come forth from the earth, their shadows do not rest upon their corpses. This god throws evil against them after he has passed by them*.

The women are each marked : *the enemy*. The man is called : *He whose soul is destroyed, the noxious one, guarded as enemy of Osiris*.

TOP REGISTER.

E. Three men walk forth from the Aker-sphinx. In front of them is written :

*Duaty comes forth from the paw of the Aker ;
Atum comes forth from the paw of the Aker ;
If..y comes forth from the paw of the Aker.*

In front of them are eight lines of text (Parallel, LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 36 E) :

[*Re says*] to this cavern when he passes the Aker : *O Aker, make for me a way ; O secret one of forms, bend your arms for me. Behold, I have called [those who are in you to me]. I have seen your secret My disk is Geb. Those [who are on your back are Khepry] in his abode, Duaty who has gone forth [from the Aker], and If..y who has gone forth from the Aker. O give to [me your arms], receive me. Behold, I enter to your secrets ; I light you, [I drive away your darkness]*.

F. Above the left half of the Sphinx there is a black horizontal male figure : *Geb who guards the secrets in the Netherworld. This great god, he speaks to him when he sees the light of his disk*.

G. Above the right half of the Sphinx there is an ellipse with a sun-beetle inside. Above Pls. XXXI-
XXXII are the remains of an inscription and the name *Khepry*.

H. Upon the Sphinx is written: *This god is in this fashion: Geb it is with Khepry; they guard This great god, he passes the time in charge of his cavern. His words of his guidance (?) he calls to the Chief of the Netherworld: he it is who lights those who are in the paw of the Aker; he unites his body. The god sees the rays of the god after he has passed by him.*

I. Four goddesses go towards the right between the paws of the Aker. They are named:

Nephthys who is in the paw of the Aker;
Isis who is in the paw of the Aker;
Nut (who is in the paw of the Aker);
Tefnut who is in the paw of the Aker.

BOTTOM REGISTER.

J. Osiris, ithyphallic, extended upon his back with the sun-disk above him, the whole surrounded by a snake (Cf. LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 6; Pl. 37 B, col. 6 *sqq.*).

Text, behind the last figure (male) of D.: *This snake is in this fashion, [he hides the corpse of Osiris in his dark cavern?].*

Re says to this cavern: O Corpse of [Him whose soul is hidden, Osiris,] Ruler of the West, which is secret of decay and shrouded of rotting, [to which the Dead do not approach], on the smell and odour of which those who are in the West live, O behold I pass by, Osiris, I cause my disk to rest in thy cavern. I protect thy soul, and thy shadow. The darkness goes from thee (?). The Nehaher serpent who is in the cave, he joins thy corpse. I verily pass by thy cavern, giving orders to thy followers.

K. Above Osiris is written (Cf. LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 6; GUILMANT, "Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX," Pl. LII): *This god is in this fashion in the cavern which is in the West. O great one, whose divine power belongs to him (B) . . . he causes his disk to rest in his cavern.*

To the right of the disk is the remainder of a text.

L. Next to J, 11 columns, very damaged (paralleled by LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 6, and GUILMANT, Pl. LII). *Re says to this cavern: O punished ones, bereft of arms, who have no power over their arms, mourners (?) whose evil is upon them and whose blood is upon their flesh, which is cut off. O beheaded ones who have no heads and whose souls whose shadows and whose corpses go upside down. He of the Slaughtering place cuts off their limbs. You are those who throw evil and make animosity in the (B) Netherworld. It is Osiris, Chief of the Westerners, who has he has handed you over to the Place of Destruction I am Re, who commands and it is created, who does not revoke [what he has said] (B).*

M. Four red men, bearded, with a lock of hair hanging in front of them and their hands tied before them, each named *the punished one*; and behind them four without heads, each marked *the beheaded one who has no head*. Written above is: *These are in this fashion: their is not; [they do not see?] the light of Re. They are in darkness,*

Pls. XXXII-
XXXIII. whose souls do not go forth from the earth. Their corpses are turned upside down. This god throws their evil against them after he has passed by them.

N. Text referring to the women in O. *Re says to this cavern* : O those who are slaughtered in the Netherworld, bleeding ones of the West, turning their arms under their knives (B), covered by what they have done (B). You are the slaughtered ones ; you are mourners destroyed of souls, those who are clothed in their blood, O behold I pass by you. You have been placed in the Place of Destruction, in your place in the Netherworld.—What was said by Osiris to you : the souls of the enemies of Osiris go upside down in the Place of Destruction, their corpses are not seen, according to what I have commanded that should be done to them (B), the enemies of Osiris.

O. Four red women with a lock of hair hanging over their foreheads and their hands tied in front of them, each one called : *the slaughtered one who turns her arms*.

P. Four black human-headed birds, each called soul (det. with  as in Lebensmüder). Above them is written :

These are in this fashion, those who have no corpses, and who do not go forth from the earth, who do not see the rays of this great god, but are in deep darkness. This great god throws their evil against them after he has passed by them.

MIDDLE REGISTER.

Q. (Cf. LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 6 ; 36 F ; GUILMANT, Pl. LII) : *Re says to this cavern* : O Osiris, [secret of] places, [living of soul] in his abode. O my head, my form (? B), my figure, my corpse, my shapes, [which are behind Osiris] in the hidden place [in which he rests, whom the Wer-serpent] in its cavern surrounds, and whose secrets he protects. Behold I pass by,¹ [I take care of] thy affairs and of [thy] secrets, [resting] in thy place. [But thou alone] hast come forth from [me myself. It is I ; thou] seest the light [of my disk].

R. Three cartouches enclosed by a snake : a vertical one with Osiris, and two horizontal ones with a ram's head and an eye respectively (Cf. LEFÉBURE, Pl. 6). To the right of these are four worshippers. Two horizontal and one vertical line of text : *These are in this fashion ; the Wer-serpent in his cave, he protects their abodes.*

S. Text to the right of R, and referring to T. (Cf. LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 7 E ; 36 G.) *Re says to this cavern* : O Osiris, (O Osiris), ichneumon-like one, upon his Wer-serpent, taking hold of the unique one which came forth from his body, namely, the hair of his lower jaw, the secret of his beard, and it is not known what comes forth from it (B). Damuty praises him, and greets the corpses which are with him : You are the gods who place the souls in the Place of Slaughtering, while they struggle for him from whom they came forth (B), the great gods of the West : O behold I pass by you to take care of thee, ichneumon-like one, to light the darkness of thy corpses, to strengthen thy soul. O Osiris, you are the unique one who became two, thou art the two who became Osiris, the great one of the West (B).

T. The picture shows 'Ady, with the head of an ichneumon, upon a serpent. In front of him are two adorants, Nehepy and Ma'athuty. Above them is the sun-disk. Behind them is written : *These gods are in this fashion, in the cavern of Him who is ichneumon-like. They*

¹ Ramses VI. has 'k "enter."

hear the words of Re, his big disk gives light to them, and then darkness covers them (B) Pls. XXXIII-XXXIV. after this great god has passed by them.

BOTTOM REGISTER.

U. Text leading on to next Group: *Re says when he approaches the cavern : O serpent great one upon his belly, who unites the two western netherworlds, whose cavern is filled with fire, with this flame which comes forth from his mouth. He who upon earth is Heby; Hide this thy head from the Hep-ib serpent (?). Behold me I cause that its gods are satisfied with my light (?). I destroy the enemies who are in it, while they are put in the Place of Destruction. I hand them over to the revisers, from whose guarding they do not go forth (B). Oho ! I pass by thee, I pass by thee.*

GROUP IV. (Parallels LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 38.) A ram-headed figure stands in front of the texts.

(1) The entering of this great god in the darkness. This great god passes by the cavern of (2) Him who is great on his belly, whose head is in the dark and whose hinder-part is in the dark, to whose cave neither gods nor spirits nor dead (3) approach, and by whom they do not pass, except this great god who is in heaven. The gods who are in their caverns and those who are in their caves, (4) and those who are in their abodes and those who are at peace upon their corpses,—the gods, the spirits and (5-6) the dead, they say when they see Re, they rejoice after he has entered : O come to us Lord of the Disk,

(Lines 7-18) :

How beautiful is Re when he passes through darkness, his great disk makes his followers happy (?), B).

How beautiful is Re when he passes through darkness, to go through the cave and proceed through the Netherworld ;

How beautiful is Re when he passes through darkness, to command the Netherworld (inhabitants) ;

How beautiful is Re when he passes through darkness, to cause [the souls] to speak upon their corpses ;

How beautiful is Re when he passes through darkness, to command those Silent ones.

How beautiful is Re when he passes through darkness, to stretch his arm against the enemies of Osiris ;

How beautiful is Re when he passes through darkness, to judge [those who are in the earth] ;

How beautiful is Re when he passes through the darkness of Iaiau, when he settles in the Netherworld ;

How beautiful is Re when he passes through darkness to call the souls of the Westerners ;

How beautiful is Re when he passes through darkness to take care of those of the Netherworld ;

How beautiful is Re when he passes through the darkness of the West which hides [the disk of the West] ;

How beautiful is Re when he passes through darkness ; we breathe indeed when we see [him].

Pls. XXXIV-
XXXV.

(Lines 19-30) :

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, we are satisfied in our cavern ;

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, when thou speakest to us our shadows are powerful ;

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, thou makest us rest in the rays of thy¹ disk ;

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, thou causest our souls to enter our cavern ;

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, thou makest the corpses join their abodes ;

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, thou causest breath to enter our noses ;

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, thou placest the spirits in their caves ;

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, thou destroyest and throwest the evil doers into the Place of Destruction ;

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, we are greatly satisfied on account of our being ;

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, whom the Dead see so that they live (B).

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, thou makest Him-who-is-tired-of-Heart settle in [his] chapel ;

Jubilation to thee, Re, we breathe indeed, our souls pass after Him-of-the-Horizon.

(31) Jubilation to thee, Re, indeed jubilation to thee, Re, thou judgest us, O powerful one, great of words, coming forth from the earth, (32) who satisfies himself We call we call out to our souls : (O) He who is great of plans and powerful of spirits : O He who is weary of Heart, (33) Chief of those who are not, Osiris, Chief of the Westerners, Lord of words, great of Enneads, Great Chief in his council, (34) to whom speak those who are in the Netherworld, the Gods of the West the spirits and the Dead, while their souls are (35) turned upside down and their corpses hidden. Now² there is commanded to those who are in the Necropolis, those who are in the Impassable Place, (36) to throw evil into his enemies so that they make a place of destruction. They call to the soul of Re : (37) [Behold] him ; he is at peace upon his decay ; he causes his corpse to receive his light. (So) they say, the gods of the Netherworld, the spirits who are in the (38) West. Re, he says to those of the Netherworld, he calls to the Westerners : Behold I pass (39) I pass by your caves. O Ennead of Osiris, Council of the Chief of the Netherworld, (40) your caverns, I entered the darkness to protect you in your caverns (41) to take care of you, I have done this, verily, while I was alone, I have destined myself (42) I have chosen after you in your names of chosen ones who are with the Ruler of the West. (43) (who are on their hills ?) powerful, living of souls, powerful (44) these gods great of planning in secrecy, who follow (?) Osiris, (45) Masters of Needs in the West, on that night of questioning and of judgment (46) Osiris, he repels his enemies, The Masters of Needs in the West. (47-58 too much damaged.)

GROUP V.

TOP REGISTER.

A.. [Re says to this] cavern : O Horus Mekhenty-n-irty, (2) in the Netherworld, thine eyes are thine (3) in peace. Thy heart is in thy body, while thou fixest (?) (4) great

¹ Ramses VI. : *itn-k.*² Ramses VI. : *ist.*

is thy corpse, Osiris, Bull of the West, (5) I light thy corpse with my disk (6) Pl. XXXV. in his abode.

B. A male figure adoring the sun-disk, which appears between two horizontal ellipses, of which the uppermost is lost. The lower one shows a heart between two disks which emit rays. Above is written: *These are in this fashion in the abodes in one cavern: This god speaks to his heart.*

C. [Re] says when he passes through this cave: I speak to (2) their souls are pacified when I pass by the Bull of the West. (3-7 very fragmentary.)

MIDDLE REGISTER.

D. Male figures bowing towards left. (Parallel, LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 7 L.)

(1) Re says to this (?) cavern: Behold I enter (2) the great sand. I have divided the twilight. (3) Give me your arms, receive me, O gods who are in (4) Osiris, you are powerful when you see my disk. (5) O He who is Chief of the West, god great of crowns; O (6) He who is a prince of his abode, lord of hair, loud of wailing, (7) in their guarding. The Nehaher serpent (8) Behold I pass by you, I light (9)

E. Two horizontal ellipses with mummies; the uppermost is inscribed: The coffin of the Chief of the Westerners; the lower one: Between them are a large snake and a sun-disk, and on the right a falcon-headed figure adoring. Above is written: They are in this fashion: Horus the avenger of his father, and Meten. The disk of Re lights them.

F. The text which follows belongs to the subsequent scene, showing Anubis adoring Osiris, behind whom is a long-legged bird. The text runs: (1) Re says to this (?) cavern: O Osiris with his soul and Anubis (2) with his secrets, behold I pass by (3) your cavern. I am becoming your avenger. (4) The soul of Osiris rests upon his corpse; Anubis, he protects the Ruler (5) of the Netherworld; he counts secrets as that which resembles him (?). He causes (6) corpses to settle in their (?) cavern.

G. Above the scene is written: These gods are in this fashion in one cavern. It is Re who speaks to them; he takes care of them; he lights them with his disk. They see light when this great god passes by them.

In front of Anubis his name is written, and over the bird: *Soul [of Osiris].*

BOTTOM REGISTER.

H. Four figures turned upside down, each marked: The bleeding one. (Cf. LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 7 M.; GUILMANT, Pl. LVI). Text: Re says to this cavern while he stretches his hand against his enemies: You are decaying ones (B), bleeding ones, cut up ones, swollen ones, who have no headdress (rest too damaged).

I. Two female figures, one anthropomorphic, the other lioness-headed, stand over a male horizontal figure. Text: These are in this fashion in one cavern. Those who do not see Re, who do not hear his words; he throws evil against them while he passes their cavern.

Pls. XXXV-
XXXVI.

J. *Re says to this cavern : O Hetemyt (2) (3) . . . You are these destroyed ones who are (4) [in] their darkness, in blood, living (5) on what their heart abhors (6)*

K. Four people upside down : *The maimed one, Khebyu, Madyu, the Red one*, plural designations (as in most cases) indicating that each figure represents a group. Above them is written : *These are in this fashion : those who do not see Re, who do not hear his speech, who do not see the rays of his disk, whose souls do not go forth, their blood . . . to their corpses. They are in twilight. Re throws evil against them when he passes by them.*

A god stands over them with the text : *This god is in this fashion as guard of the enemies of Re. He whom he does not see, this god hears his voice (B).*

GROUP VI. (Parallel, LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 39, col. 35 *sqq.*)

(1) [The entering] of this great god into the impassable cavern. This great god, he says to those who are in it : (2) [O] these gods in their cavern, being behind Osiris in his place, (3) You are indeed hidden. You jubilate over me. I call to you.

(Lines 4-16) :

My disk has entered the darkness, the hidden ones are in jubilation ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, the Westerners are rejoicing ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, Osiris has given his arms to me ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, the Ennead of the West is in festival ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, their souls rejoice at my approach ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, their corpses approach them ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, the two goddesses compose their brother ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, Anubis his secrets ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, Horus gives his eyes to his father ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, Mekhenti-n-irty is behind his abode ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, his eyes and his heart are in their hiding ;
 My disk has entered the darkness, the arms of the Bull of the West are upon
 My disk has entered the darkness, indeed it is my disk which has entered the darkness,
 (17) those who are in the Netherworld rejoice over my disk.

Lines 18-23 give only the ends of lines :

. their caves.
 I pass by their cavern.
 the Westerners.
 you come forth from the darkness.
 you all.
 to you.

The last line leads on to the following hymn, of which only the ends of the lines remain, but which is paralleled by LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 39, col. 58 to Pl. 40, col. 68, except lines 26 and 28.

Lines 24-36 :

PI. XXXVI.

I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, and I command you ;
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, and I light you ;
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, rays.
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, he of the Netherworld
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, and you take to you
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, and I order for you [your festivals].
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, you are (?) in your caverns ;
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, and I give to you light.
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, and I destroy the enemies
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, and I cause the great soul to be satisfied on account of the secrets ;
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, my disk has given birth to me ;
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld ; Tathunen, he distinguishes him who came forth from him (B).
 I pass by you, people of the Netherworld, I verily pass by you, people of the Netherworld, (37) [I pass by you, people of the Netherworld], and you give me praise in this my praise, you honour (38) [me and my soul in this my honour], you adore this secret, corpse (39) in my breathing. Tathunen, he gives birth to me (40) they say to Re.

Lines 41-52 contain the ends of the litany given in LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 40, ll. 70 ff.

Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, we give indeed our arms to thee.
 Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, Tathunen, he has given birth to you in his Netherworld.

Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, who the noble ones with thy disk.
 Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, thou givest thy arm, thou receivest adoration.
 Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, thou becomest one great of form.
 Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, thou makest a slaughtering of the enemies.
 Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, [thou¹] fillest the Netherworld with thy rays.
 Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, thy disk lights the Impassable Place.
 Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, the souls have power over their forthcoming.
 Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, the hidden ones they unite their bodies.
 Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, Anubis unites his body.
 Thou art, thou, O One of the Horizon, thou indeed One of the Horizon.

(53) [We jubilate when we see] thy disk, we glorify thy hidden corpse. [Re indeed is born (54) of the earth ; his disk is born] in the Netherworld. Re verily passes by [your cavern (55)] Re verily passes by the caves of the gods, secret [of hearts. (56) He gives command to them] that they breathe, that they live when he passes by (57)

Lines 58-63 contain the invocations of gods and spirits, more fully preserved in LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 40, 77 ff.

¹ Ramses VI. has *mh-k.*

Pls. XXXVI-
XXXVIII.

(64) [O (all) these gods, behold I pass by your cavern] I call you by your names, I give to you your virtues. (65) [I pass on the roads of the Impassable] Place. I give the wind which is in her. (66) [I have power over the going-upon] her roads (?), she curbs her arm for me and restrains (67) [her arm] for me secret of shapes, great of darkness, I pass by (68) [you], verily I pass by you.

GROUP VII.

Large figure of a woman drawn over the whole height of the wall (top part lost); behind her are three crocodiles and a large serpent, and between this and the preceding text group are three vertical lines of script.

A. secret of forms (?), being in their darkness, in fire, whom the gods do not approach (?). Then follows the name *Npy R* twice, once in enigmatic, once in ordinary script

B. (1) comes (?) in the cavern of (?) the gods. This great god sails to the cavern upon thy arms, O Hidden one. This great god enters the cavern hiding (2) in darkness, whose heads the gods do not see disk when resting upon his height.

C. Upon female figure: hidden of forms (?) Chief of the Great Revision.

D. In front of her a line of enigmatic script with the same inscription as C.

E. Vertical column, apparently like A.: in this fashion upon the arms of this one, secret of forms, being [in] their darkness, in fire, whom the gods do not approach (?), *Nepayt*.

TOP REGISTER.

F-G. Five columns in enigmatic script alternating with short groups of ordinary script; unfortunately the loss of the beginnings of the lines make it impossible to give a translation, but some new equations of the signs used in the enigmatic writing can be given, which are mainly due to Dr. de Buck.¹ Line 3 gives in enigmatic script what line 4 gives normally: *Re rests in the mountain of the West to take care of those who are in the earth*. Then follow four falcon-headed figures, each apparently a form of Horus, which is specified both in enigmatic and in ordinary writing: *Horus who shrouds Re*; *Horus who hides Atum*; and *Horus who comes forth from*, while one is not clear. Anubis is named. Then follows an ellipse containing a Sekhem-sceptre and a sun-disk, and the word *Atum* in ordinary and enigmatic script.

H. Text which refers to the foregoing ellipse, but is unfortunately too much damaged and corrupt to be translated.

I. Four horizontal ellipses, each containing a woman, and a much damaged text.

¹ These are, that the bird  may stand for *m*, *w* or even *ȝ*, so that *m:w* may be rendered by the sequence of three similar bird-signs. The spelling  | for *shrw* seems new, and the use of the standing figure, det. of "to hide," somewhat similar to  for *imn*. Note also  for *imy*, already noticed by Le Page Renouf, *A.Z.* 1874, p. 102. For the rest, the readings established by SETHE in NORTHAMPTON, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, are confirmed. In O. there are, as additional new readings, the sign of the swimming man for *nb*,  for *r*, and  for *m hnw*. In S. we may assume that the names of the two figures are given in ordinary and enigmatic script, which gives  for *tp*. We have also  = *ȝ*,  = *t*, and  = *hp*, in Group IX, A, E and I respectively.

J. (1) *Re says to this cavern: O goddesses who are (2) in their abodes. Behold [me, I* Pls. XXXVII-
XXXIX. *pass] (3) by you (4) in your places in which I have ordered you to be (cf. L.)*

BOTTOM REGISTER.

K. A female figure holds two poles to each of which a kneeling male figure is tied. Above is written: *This goddess is in this fashion in guarding the enemies of Re, whom she hands over (?) to the two sticks*,¹ *to whom no untying is given (B). Re throws when he passes by them. . . .*

L. (1) *Re says to this cavern (2) guarding my own enemies, whom I have placed (3) in twilight this place in which I have ordered you (4) to be, which does not go forth from the West, which does not go forth from their darkness. . . . (5) Behold (?) the two Das-sticks in the earth, they guard (?) the enemies.*

M. A semicircle containing four hearts and four severed heads is lifted up by two hands; a serpent-headed being, called *Y^caruty* (the Cobra-like) is on the left. Above is written: *This terror is in this fashion, hands coming forth from the Place of Destruction. They lift the severed heads. The fire the heads of the enemies are trusted to her (?). . . . Y^caruty, Lord of flames, he gives his flame in this place of terror.*

N. A short text, and a semicircle, as above, containing four beheaded men upside down, with a snake on each side. The inscriptions are all too corrupt to translate.

O. An ithyphallic figure with a bird on its head extends over the whole height of the wall. In front are two columns of script, then a colossal serpent and then two more columns, interrupted by a sun-disk. These columns give the same text in enigmatic and in ordinary script (cf. LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 12 A): *The entering of this great god into the twilight. This great god, Lord of the West, passes into the innermost part of the cavern* (on the enigmatic script see p. 52 and note).

P. The two columns immediately in front of the figure read: (1) *This great god is in this fashion in the innermost part of his hidden cavern. When this great god speaks he passes the time (taking care of him ?). (2) The soul of this god enters behind Re. The darkness hides the corpses when the great god has passed by them.*

Q. A ram-headed figure stands in front of a female one called *Tayt* (LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 14 F): *This goddess is in this fashion, she gives her arms to the great god [he lights] her with his disk; Darkness hides her after [he] has passed. . . .*

R. (Re says) to this cavern: (1) *O Tayt, receive me (2) Behold I pass; my soul is (3) coming forth from my body; I give to them orders (4) I establish their bodies, I cause that you rest (5) I light them with what is on my crest, (namely) my disk.*

S. (LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 13.) A sun-disk and a ram's head are adored by a male figure, called *Osiris in front of the head of Re*, and by a falcon-headed figure, called *Horus in front*

¹ *d:s* seems to refer to the two sticks, as it is determined with  in L. 5.

Pls. XXXIX-
XL. of the head of *Re*. Both designations are given in ordinary and in enigmatic script, but of the latter only fragments remain.

BOTTOM REGISTER.

T. A semicircle with four shadow-signs and four soul-birds upside down, the whole supported by two hands, showing on each side a kneeling female figure. The text on the left runs: (1) under the souls, corpses (and) shadows of the enemies of (2) *Re*; he says O enemies (?) whose heads are cut off, (3) these two great goddesses fan (4) with their arms the fire against them.

U. (1) *Re* says to this cavern: O ye two goddesses great of flame, who burn (?) powerful of flame, (2) who their kettles (3) with the gods of souls, corpses, (4) bodies, shadows of my enemies. Behold (5) I pass by you verily, I throw (?) evil as enemies. (6) Remain in your cavern, your flames (7) are in your kettles, you whose souls do not come forth, who do not (8) pass behind me.

V. In front of the large ithyphallic figure (Pl. XXXVIII) there are just the remains of a scene of the higher register, of which the explanatory text is entirely lost, but which is referred to in the succeeding group. It shows a male figure, and a sun-disk over two ellipses, one containing an Osiride (?) figure and the other two children.

GROUP VIII. (Parallel, LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 42 ff.)

This group refers back to the preceding representations. (1) [The coming to rest of this great god in the hidden cavern] when he passes by its arms¹ so that he may pass through her cavern. This hidden one, her head is in darkness, and her legs are in darkness. (2) [Those who are hidden of face protect the arms of her whose cavern the gods and the spirits and the dead do not pass] except the great god with his disk (and) his followers. *Re*, he speaks to this goddess: (3) [O secret one, Westerner with her arms upon her guarding, O] behold I pass by your cavern. Give thy arms to me, O thou secret of councils.—O Snake, O Snake, behold (4) [I pass the Impassable Place, I pass to protect my corpse]. O Kharet, O Kharet, behold I pass the Impassable Place, I pass to protect (5) [my corpse. O Nemes, O Nemes, behold I pass the Impassable Place,] I pass to protect my corpse. O Byk, O Byk, behold I pass the Impassable Place, I pass to protect my corpse. (6) [O Shesheta, O Shesheta, behold I pass the Impassable Place, I pass to] protect my corpse. (*The top parts of lines 6–9 show this same phrase, of which, however, the beginning is lost. The lower parts of these lines is without parallel in the tomb of Ramses VI.*) (6) O these gods who are in the Impassable cavern, behold (7) I pass by you, curb your arms and restrain for me your arms. (8) Receive my disk, O Shetayt, see my light, it passes my followers (9) in their great cavern, to greet Osiris, to (10) This god says to the cavern of Sefeg who is in his shapes: O Sefeg, great in his shapes, (11) [behold] I pass the Impassable Place, I pass to greet Osiris; O one secret of face, Lord of the Beard (?),²

¹ This refers no doubt to the two arms rising from the depths in front of the large female figure with which Group VII. starts (Pl. XXXVII). *Those who are hidden of face*, in the next line, are probably the crocodiles pictured behind that large figure.

² The little sign after *lbsyt* seems to represent a false beard.

(12) [behold I pass the Impassable Place,] I pass to greet Osiris, O Nahebkau in his cavern, ^{Pl. XL.}
tied of head, great of power behold (13) [I pass the Impassable Place, I pass to greet
Osiris]. O Nepun Chief of the West, judging those who are in his cave, behold I pass the
Impassable Place, (14) [I pass to greet Osiris]. . . . Tepehut(?), destroying those who are in
his cavern, behold I pass the Impassable Place, I pass to (15) [greet Osiris] my disk
rests in your cavern, curb your arms, restrain your arms (16) Behold I light your
darkness. The passing of this great god by the cavern of Sefeg, the great god in (17) [his
forms, the approaching of this great god to the cave of Tathunen, father of the gods].¹
Re says to this cave of Tatunen, father(?) of the gods, . . . (18) . . . O Tathunen, O Tathunen,
behold I pass

Lines 19–30 contained in their top parts a litany which is lost. The lower part gives:
(19) Atum who is in Tathunen and Khepry in his cave, great gods (20) resting (and) souls who
have become me. Behold me (21) your souls to me, those who are behind me,
receive me, you pass (22) I pass you, I expel your darkness, your souls pass after
my soul, you (23) me while I pass through the Necropolis; I cause the corpses to
rest in their caverns and their souls are powerful (24) upon them, satisfied because of (or,
resting upon) his decay. When I have spoken in your cavern I pass by [you ?] (25)
my followers will see my corpse in you.

*From here there is again a parallel, LEFFÉBURE, II, Pl. 42, 13 ff. Probably the top parts of
our lines 19–30 contained the litany: "Light comes in the West," which occupies the corresponding
place in the tomb of Ramses VI.*

(26) The passing of this great god by the cavern of Tathunen, the approaching of this great
god to the cave of Thery, great (27) of secrets. Re says to this cavern: O Thery, great
of secrets, (28) Lord of blood, flourishing one of the slaughtering-places, he who is in his
abode and whose two children are in their abodes, (29) who rests in(?) his two children, while
Powerful-of-Form guards him;² O behold I [pass by] (30) thy cave, one secret of being.
Give me thy arm. (31) (Parallel, LEFFÉBURE, II, Pl. 42, 26 ff.) O Thery, O Thery, behold I
pass Thery, I pass by those who are in Tathunen. (32) [I pass] the Impassable Netherworld to
see my corpse which is in it, to light [my] shapes (33) and my forms. The passing of this
great god by the cave of Thery, the approaching of this god (34) to the cave of the forms
of Osiris. Re says to this cavern (*Lower parts 34–46, paralleled by LEFFÉBURE, II, Pl. 43*):
O Anubis who is upon his secrets, Lord of Power, (35) [resting in] the mummy-bandages,
Lord of the Secrets in the West, forming the heads, knotting the;

O Anubis, Power of the West, in charge of the linen strips, great of bandages;

O Anubis, Power of the West, lord of what is hidden, secret of decay;

O Anubis, Power of the West,;

O Anubis, Power of the West, who joins the head of him who is in his cavern;

O Anubis, Power of the West, who joins the head of him whose name is hidden;

O Anubis, Power of the West, who joins the head of him who is great of necessities;

¹ The words within the brackets are merely surmised on the basis of the succeeding parallel formulas.

² This obviously refers to Group VII, V.

Pls. XL-XLI. O Anubis, Power of the West, who joins the head of [the Westerner, the ruler of the Netherworld] ;

O Anubis, Power [of the West, who joins the head of him who gives his power in his abode] ;

O Anubis, Power of the West, uniting [the land as the great secret ?].

O Anubis, Power of the West, taking care of

O Anubis, Power of the West, speaking

(47) O Anubis, O Anubis, behold I pass Anubis, I pass by those who are in Tathunen. I pass (48) [I pass the Impassable Netherworld to see my corpse which is in] it, to light my forms and my shapes. The passing of this great god by the cave of Anubis, (49) [the approaching of this great god to the cave of the goddesses who are in the Netherworld].¹ O Netherworld (LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 44, 1 ff) O Netherworld in the West. O (50) [behold I pass by you] me lighting your cavern. You see, you breathe.

O Bykt in the West, (51) [behold I pass through the Netherworld, I pass through the Necropolis to see] my body which is in the earth, to place my disk upon its forms, to see my body.

O Thema (52) [in the West, behold I pass through the Netherworld, I pass through the Necropolis] to see my corpse which is in the earth, to place my disk upon its forms.

O She who is dark of soul (53) [behold I pass through the Netherworld, I pass through the Necropolis to] see my corpse which is in the earth, to place my disk upon its forms.

O Wenyt (54) [Chief of the West, behold I pass through the Netherworld, I pass through the Necropolis to] see my corpse which is in the earth, to place my disk upon its forms ;

O Those four (55) [hidden goddesses in the Netherworld].² Shapes in the West, abide (?) in your abodes, remain (?) in your caves, (56) Goddesses, behold I pass by you ; Goddesses, I light you (57) with the rays of my disk ; I pass by those who are in Tathunen. (58) I pass through the Impassable Netherworld to see my corpse which is in the earth, to light (59) my forms and my shapes.—The passing of this great god by the cave of the (60) goddesses who are in the Netherworld, the approaching of this great god to the cavern of destruction. (61) This great god passes by them.³ This great god commands the [chiefs] (62) of their caverns. Re [says to the cave of the two sticks,⁴ which is in secrecy :] (63) guarding the enemies of Osiris. To thee are entrusted the enemies of Osiris who are tied and bound to those two sticks. (64) O Snake upon its flame, [who gives] fire in the pot⁵ [which is underneath the heads] of the enemies (65) of Osiris and the hearts of the enemies of Him of the Netherworld. O those two serpents, Nesert (67) and Wepset,⁶ great of forms, possessors of counsel in the Place of Destruction, place (68) [your flames and light (?) your fire (B) under the pots] in which are the enemies of Osiris.—O Those of the posts <who are> guarded by the posts (B). You are those (69) [beaten ones, bound because of violence, (B) those who are placed in the secret place of the good god. Behold] I

¹ The words within the brackets are completed hypothetically on the pattern of the parallel formulas.

² This refers to Group VII, I. (Pl. XXXVIII), and is thus a particularly clear instance of the representation of *db:t* by an ellipse.

³ Ramses VI. gives *hr-sn.*

⁵ Refers to Group VII, M. For *dwy* "pot," see line 71.

⁴ Refers to Group VII, K.

⁶ Refers to Group VII, N.

have put you into custody, while you are placed under the secret hand whence there is no Pls. XLI-XLII.
escaping. (70) [destroyed are your souls and] your shadows.

The top parts of lines 56–68 contained probably the litany: You are those goddesses. . . . (LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 44). *Lines 71–83 show the ends of the lines of the litany of LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 45, 22 ff.*

(71) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, their heads burn in their pots;

(72) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, their hearts are holocausts;

(73) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, Y^āaruty indeed burns them;

(74) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, powerful is the flame in the Netherworld,

(75) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, the arms of Nun are under their pots¹;

(76) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, their corpses go upside down;

(77) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, their heads are indeed cut off;

(78) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, their fetters and tethers are;

(79) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, Wepset throws her fire against them;

(80) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, Nesert throws her fire against them;

(81) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, their flame the Netherworld;

(82) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, in the Place of Destruction;

(83) Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, I have placed you in your destruction;

(84) [Destroyed are the enemies of the Chief of the Netherworld, the dark ones] who have no light. Those enemies of Osiris bodies (85–86) [You are those enemies of Osiris who do not see] my [rays], whom I have placed in the darkness of the Place of Destruction cave of Osiris. I have caused that his soul rest upon his corpse. The passing of this great god by the Place of Destruction [he throws evil against those who are in it as enemies of (87) the Ruler of the Netherworld. He says to the Cave of the Ruler of the Netherworld: O Corpse of the Ruler of the Netherworld [great of forms] and mistress of shapes (88) the West, [curb] thine [arm] and restrain thine arm. Behold I pass by the cave. My disk is great, he rests after (89 too much damaged.)

¹ Dr. de Buck has observed that  apparently reads *h³*; see the end of line 96, and also LEFÉBURE, II, Pls. 46, 37. Consequently we find here the word *wh³t*, “pot.”

Pl. XLII.

Lines 90–96 (cf. LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 46, 36 ff.):

(92 top. *The following restored, where necessary, from Lefébure*) O Osiris, Lord of the West, whose soul rests upon his corpse ;

O Osiris, Lord of the West, in whose cave the Nehaher serpent is ;

O Osiris, Lord of the West, behold I pass by thy secrets ;

O Osiris, Lord of the West, behold I pass and I rest in the Necropolis ;

O Osiris, Lord of the West, behold I expel the darkness and I light thee ;

(90 bottom) O Osiris, Lord of the West, your soul passes behind me when I command the followers ;

O Osiris, Lord of the West, whose corpse breathes through my disk ;

O Osiris, Lord of the West, powerful of face, living of spirit ;

O Osiris, Lord of the West, Netherworld-one who speaks to his soul ;

O Osiris, Lord of the West, greater than the princes of his cave ;

O Osiris, Lord of the West, Lord of abodes, King of the Westerners ;

(96 bottom) O Osiris, O Osiris, good god, whose body is hidden, with whom Nehaher is, (97) [who protects the corpse of him whose name is hidden ;] raise yourself Hidden-of-Name by my disk.

(Lines 98–103 paralleled by LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 46, 48 ff.)

Pray raise thyself up, Hidden-of-Name, thy soul rests upon thy head¹ ;

Pray raise thyself up, Hidden-of-Name, I pass through thy hidden cave ;

Pray raise thyself up, Hidden-of-Name, thy soul is upon thy corpse, I protected it ;

Pray raise thyself up, Hidden-of-Name, I cause thy secret to settle in thy cave ; . . .

Pray raise thyself up, Hidden-of-Name, who made the Netherworld, who begat the falcon ;

Pray raise thyself up, Hidden-of-Name, Anubis defends his secrets ;

Pray raise thyself up, Hidden-of-Name, I pass to

Pray raise thyself up, Hidden-of-Name, I have made and I create² (or became ?) his seed ;

Pray raise thyself up, Hidden-of-Name, whose heart is joined, whose corpse is put in order ;

Pray raise thyself up, Hidden-of-Name, breathe and equip thy limbs.

(104) Pray raise thyself up, Hidden of Name, breathing. Osiris breathes he whose limbs are put in order breathes. I pass. I light thee with my disk. I give offerings in thy cave, I pass by those (105) who are in Tathunen ; I pass through the Impassable Netherworld to see my corpse which is in the earth, to light the forms. The passing (106) of this great god by the cave of Osiris, the approaching of this god to [the cavern of decay]. This god speaks to him who is guarding (?). He says (107–8)

Lines 109–16 top part, and 108–13 bottom part :

The decay of Osiris is hidden, my disk has rested in his cave ;

The decay of Osiris is hidden, his corpse has power over the West ;

The decay of Osiris is hidden, hidden of liquid, in the Netherworld ;

¹ See large male figure, Pl. XXXVIII.

² Ramses VI. gives *slpr.*

The decay of Osiris is hidden, those who are in the Netherworld unite themselves with it ; Pls. XLII-
 The decay of Osiris is hidden, the soul of the god rests upon his decay ;
 The decay of Osiris is hidden, the Chief of the Netherworld rests in his flesh ;
 The decay of Osiris is hidden, the god protects his own flesh ;
 The decay of Osiris is hidden, the Netherworld inhabitants mourn over him ;
 (108 bottom) The decay of Osiris is hidden, my great disk ;
 The decay of Osiris is hidden, the West ;
 The decay of Osiris is hidden, Anubis ;
 The decay of Osiris is hidden, Byky puts [his] hands upon secrets ;
 The decay of Osiris is hidden, Lord of mummy-bands ;
 The decay of Osiris is hidden, he who is destroyed of soul (?) passes ;

(114 bottom) The decay of Osiris is hidden, hidden hidden is the decay of Osiris ; the god rests (115B) upon his decay, his soul protects his forms (?). I (116) light thy decay, Osiris, Chief of the Westerners, with my disk (117) great of light. Decay settles in his cave when I pass by (?) their cavern. I pass those who are in Tathunen, I pass the impassable Netherworld (118) to see my corpse which is in it, to light my shapes and my forms. The [passing] of this great god by the cavern of the decay of Osiris (LEFÉBURE, II, Pls. 46, 50). [The coming] (119) of this great god to the cave of Nephthys, whose head is hidden. Re says to this cave: O Nephthys, whose head is hidden, who is behind Osiris, give me thy arm, Hidden-of-Head, behold (120) I pass by thy cave, my soul following me ; I light the Netherworld.

Lines 121-27 (LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 47) :

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; thy soul is these supporters of my disk (B) ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; [thy] corpse hides what is in [it] ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; she protects herself with her own virtue ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; thou hidden of corpse, [behind thy brother] ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; thou great of counsels in judging ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; loud of voice [in the Necropolis] ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; whose corpse is hidden [from her brother] ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; I make [thy] soul breathe, I join [thy] corpse ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; I let my disk rest in thy cave ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; I enter, I light those who are in [darkness] ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; I place the enemies in the Place of Slaughter, in the Place of Destruction ;

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; I cause thee¹ to be complete of body ;

¹ Ramses VI. gives *wš.t*, and also *tm* without the determinative of a god.

Pls. XLIII-
XLIV.

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; thy secret is thine,

O thou whose head is hidden, give to me thy arm ; lead me to the roads of the West.

(128) (LEFÉBURE, II, Pls. 46, 54) O Nephthys whose head is hidden, whose soul breathes in her disk, whose corpse [is behind Osiris, goddess who hides herself], behold, I pass, my soul behind me, I light the dark Netherworld, I command (129) my followers when I pass by their cave ; they praise me and jubilate on account of me, their souls rest upon their corpses. I pass [those who are in Tatunen, I pass through] (130) the Impassable Netherworld, to see my corpse which is in the earth, to light my shapes and my forms.—The passing of this great god [by the cave of Nephthys, the passing of this great god] (131) because he rests in the cave of his head.¹ The commanding of this great god to those who are in his cave. Re says to this cave : O (132) O Horus, heir of Osiris, avenging his soul, speaking for his decay, see, I pass to rest in the cave of thy forms, (133) give me your arms, jubilation on account of me. . . . ?

(134-144) :

My body is upon me in its cave, I receive secret ;

My body is upon me in its cave, my light it remains [on] my crest ;

My body is upon me in its cave, great secret

My body is upon me in its cave, I count enemies

My body is upon me in its cave, my heart is pleased, my soul rejoices ;

My body is upon me in its cave, I call to the Chiefs of the Netherworld ;

My body is upon me in its cave, those who are in the earth jubilate behind me ;

My body is upon me in its cave,

My body is upon me in its cave,

My body is upon me in its cave, Osiris counts those who are in him ;

My body is upon me in its cave, I throw evil to my enemies ;

(145) I rest upon my body which is upon me, I call to those who are in the Netherworld I call to them, I pass by (146) those who are in Tatunen, I pass through the Impassable Netherworld to see [my] body, to light my forms and my shapes. The entering (147) of this great god into the cave of his head, the approaching of this great god to He commands those who are [in it] and he passes by them. Re says to this cavern (LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 47, 61) : O Souls of the enemies of (148) Osiris, O Shadows of the enemies of Osiris,² against whom the two goddesses throw their fire ; Kayt sharp of flame, Gagayt powerful of fire, (149) throw your fire against the enemies of Him whose name is hidden, your flames are in your pots, you lead (150) their limbs. Those gods who are in the Netherworld, in the Place of Destruction, I cause that they fall in their nets, and I consign (151) them to their kettles (B), those enemies of Him whose name is hidden.

(Lines 152-59) :

You are the enemies of Osiris, your corpses are cut up, your heads are destroyed ;

You are the enemies of Osiris, your souls are caught, your blood is shed ;

You are the enemies of Osiris, your shadows are subdued, your shapes are not ;

¹ See Group VII, S.

² See Group VII, T.

You are the enemies of Osiris, you are destroyed, your shapes are annihilated ;

You are the enemies of Osiris, you are cut up

You are the enemies of Osiris, who are destroyed in the Place of Destruction ;

You are the enemies of Osiris, whose flame is lighted which is not extinguished ;

(LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 47, 75).

You are the enemies of Osiris,

You are the enemies of Osiris, for whom¹ their caverns are not lighted ;

You are the enemies of Osiris, dark ones who do not come forth ;

You are the enemies of Osiris, Kaat throws her fire ;

You are the enemies of Osiris, Gagayt kettle ;

You are the enemies of Osiris,

You are the enemies of Osiris, your evil is thrown upon you ;

You are the enemies of Osiris, who are in the Place of Destruction ;

You are the enemies of Osiris, whose words the Great Council which is in the Secret Place has judged in the presence of Osiris. He gives to them evil places (160) in the Place of Destruction on account of those words which they have made in the secret room. . . . (161) The passing of this great god as head(?) of the Place of Destruction. This great god casts evil (162) against the enemies of Osiris. The approaching of this great god to his cave which is in the Netherworld. When he enters his field the forms which are in the Netherworld come forth and give their hands.

GROUP IX.

TOP REGISTER.

A. Words spoken by Re (3 lines), too broken to be translated.

B. Anubis stands with outstretched arms between two ellipses, each with a bird upon it and containing a crouched male figure. Their names are given in ordinary and enigmatic writing. The three lines of text refer to *Anubis who is hidden of nature, who puts the gods in their abodes*.

C. This text refers to the following scene.

Re says to this cavern : O Ye two great goddesses, very great ones, guarding the secret abodes, while Anubis is guarding it (namely) that which contains the corpses secret of this lord of shapes. Behold I pass this cave in the earth, I light you, I expel your darkness.

D. *These two goddesses speak to Re these their words which they have made : O we make the creation of Behold we guard thy secret. Light the earth with thy great disk, Lord of shapes equipped with births, Khepry, who creates forms (B).*

E. The scene to which the preceding two texts refer shows Anubis in front of two vertical ellipses with a female figure and drops of blood(?) in each of them, and between them a sun-disk above a horizontal ellipse which contains a ram, called, both in ordinary and enigmatic scripts, *Re*, and a falcon's head, called in both scripts *head of Re*. Above is written : *The gods who are in this fashion on each side of his abodes are Re and*

¹ Ramses VI. gives *n-sn.*

Pls. XLV-
XLVI.

F. The following text, written also above *E*, seems to have lost its beginning: *His shape [is] in his secret, when he has come into existence in his first beginning (?) of being created. This great one, he speaks to them; they speak to him; he lights them with his light . . . in his cavern . . . he sees (?). Then the darkness hides them when he has passed.*

G. This text is again a speech by Re, referring to the succeeding scene.

Re says to this cavern: O ye two goddesses, rejoicing . . . in my protection. I have said that they protect him who is hidden of secrets, the great god, chief of the Netherworld. Behold how I am born in the Netherworld. I have become the shape of Khepry, I am young in the beautiful West.

H. (facing G.) Re, He who belongs to primeval times, He who is primeval of forms He says: Unite him, unite his limbs when he comes forth. Those of the Netherworld are created from his body they raise up your disk, O Khepry.

I. Two female figures face a sun-disk and two horizontal ellipses, the top one of which contains a male figure, and the other a ram's head and a beetle, called in enigmatic script *Head of Ram* and *Kheprer* respectively. The woman on the right is apparently *She of the Netherworld*. Above is written: *These are in this fashion. They guard the forms of Re, the corpse of the Netherworld (?). Re speaks and they speak. This great god lights them with his disk. His great disk enters his cavern, the darkness hides them after he has passed by them.*

J. and K. Two texts are almost completely lost. Of the following scene only two bowing male figures and a bird remain, and the following text *L.*, apparently words which Horus said to Re, is also lost.

MIDDLE REGISTER.

M. Two "hills" with ellipses in them, which, as the tomb of Ramses IX. shows, had probably crouching figures in them (GUILMANT, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xci). Bowing figures are yet to be distinguished, the text is almost entirely lost, as is also the text which stood above them.

N. Four columns of text which cannot be translated. The last line but one contains: *It is thou who hast made us.*

O. A large serpent, called *Evil-face*, surrounds a beetle with the sun-disk. On each side is a vertical ellipse with a male figure inside. The left one is, in enigmatic and in ordinary script, called *Ineny*. To the beetle or the serpent refers the sentence: *This great god he comes forth, he makes a stand in this fashion (?) against all which is done (?)*; however, a most doubtful translation. To the right is the sentence: *This god is in this fashion doing this*

P. Words of Re which cannot be translated.

Q. Words of the gods to Re, who lights them and whom they praise (too damaged and corrupt to be translated).

R. A Ram's head, wearing the sun-disk, appears upon the top of a "hill" containing a serpent. A vertical ellipse contains a male figure, *Tathunen*, only partly risen from below apparently, wearing on his head two pointed, curved feathers(?); it looks more like certain forked

ceremonial flints. Each is adored by a male figure. The accompanying text says: *The god who is in this fashion . . . he lights his cavern with his disk which is on his crest in the Netherworld. He gives him praise in guarding his secret district.* (Obviously the first sentence refers to the ram's head, the second to the adorant in front of it; and the following sentence refers to the ellipse): *This god comes forth completely (?) when this god passes through this cavern in which that "Evil-face" is. This god is in this fashion in his tomb (?? or, stela ??) (B), the abode of the West . . . guards him.*

S. Text too damaged. *T.* and *U.* similarly. The latter shows two falcon-headed men in vertical ellipses.

V. A damaged and corrupt speech of Re.

W. Four small vertical ellipses with headless figures. Text unreadable.

BOTTOM REGISTER.

X. Damaged and corrupt speech of Re.

Y. Two female figures stand over two beheaded ones lying with hands apparently tied behind their backs. Also a female figure standing over three hearts.

Z. Text not clear.

AA. A female wolf-headed goddess standing over four female figures with their hands tied behind their backs.

BB. Speech of Re, almost entirely lost.

CC. Male and female figures standing over four beheaded ones.

DD. Damaged speech of Re.

EE. A large snake with, on each side, a figure of which the head is not shown, and to this the obviously corrupt text refers.

FF. (LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 48, where it follows the litany of the next Group):

Re says after this cavern: I pass through the caverns of the destroyed ones. I hand them over to their undoing when I have passed the Necropolis and have taken care of it. Praise me, give me praise and straighten for me the way. Behold I pass, having arrived upon the ways of him who is hidden of shape.

GROUP X. (Cf. LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 48.)

(1) The coming forth of this great god from his two districts which are in the Netherworld. This god becomes a beetle in the shape of Tathunen. This great god says (2) to the gods in his cavern who are in their caves: O gods who are in my cavern in their caves; Behold I have come forth from my districts, I am born, I am created. (3) I establish¹ my disk. Those councillors who are with the Chief of the Westerners, they give their arms to me while I come into being. . . . Praise me, I take (4) care of you, you of the Netherworld, hidden

¹ Ramses VI. gives *smn*.

Pls. XLVIII-
XLIX. of forms. O my corpse in its district, my decay and my shape and my soul. (5) O corpse of Atum, his decay, his shape and his soul ; (6-37) :

O soul of Khepry, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Shu, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Geb, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Osiris, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of , and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Him-whose-plans-are-hidden, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Anubis, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Nes-tep, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Akhthy-tep coming forth from Re, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of She-whose-face-is-hidden, and her decay and her shape and her corpse ;
 O soul of . . . yt, and her decay and her shape and her corpse ;
 O soul of Anubis, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of the Hidden of Seat, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Kheprer, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Head-of-Re, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Isis, and her decay and her shape and her corpse ;
 O soul of Nephthys, and her decay and her shape and her corpse ;
 O soul of the corpse of Osiris, Orion with his *Was*-sceptre (B), and his decay and his shape and his form ;
 O soul of Semenakhet, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Horus, son of Osiris, and his decay and his shape ;
 O soul of my own, and my stature and my shape and my form ;
 O soul of Nehaher, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of him who is in the earth, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Khaty, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of this my head, which comes forth from the district of him who is in his district, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of , and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of , and his [decay] and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Tathunen, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Him of the Abode, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Heny, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Mewenty, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;
 O soul of Neken, and his decay and his shape and his corpse ;

GROUP XI.

A boat with the ram-headed sun-god on board is dragged towards the right where the red bands, which till now have framed the pictures and inscriptions above and below, meet in a sun-disk in the middle of the wall. Here the sun apparently leaves the Netherworld to be born by Nut above the world of the living ; its successive shapes or transformations are a

rain-headed beetle and a babe. On each side stands a man on hands and feet. Outside Pl. XLIX. the red band is water and two rows of adorants.¹ The two texts relating to them :

A, B. These gods are in this fashion : They give praise to . . . Re-[Harakh]ty when he enters the womb of Nut.

The adorants of the higher row are named:² *Secret of forms ; Secret of shapes ; Great of Births ; He who is on the shore ; He who is on the lake (?) ; Meny ; Kheseny.* The adorants of the lower row are called : *Horus, great of tears ; Horus the praised one ; Horus, living of forms ; Horus, great of crowns ; Horus, high of districts (?) ; Horus, high of thrones.*

C. Text referring to those who drag the boat :

We drag Re, we serve the unique lord, Kheper, joined of head. Hail to thee, great of glory, soul living of forms—Rests he who rests in his disk, Re rests in his disk (B). This great god enters his eastern mountain, Chief of the gods, seen by the people, shining for the earthlings, lighting³ the face of those who are upon earth, say these gods.

The next line describes the scenery : *Shore of Re-Harakhty.⁴*

The texts of the man standing on hands and feet :

D, E. This god is in this fashion : He . . . himself over the hidden district in which the secret is. This great god passes by him. This god gives to him commands. The soul of this god enters the ship, his corpse and his shapes rest on his throne (?) .

A speech of Re above the boat is too damaged to be translated (*F*), a similar speech (*G*) below the boat seems never to have been inscribed in the space reserved for it.

¹ The end of this wall was partly uncovered by Miss MURRAY and copied (*The Osireion*, Pl. xv), but as it was at the very edge of the deep excavation it can hardly have been long exposed. Consequently a few inaccuracies seem to have slipped into the copy of the text and the design of the upper row of adorants, which are corrected in our copy.

² Partly completed after Miss Murray's copy.

³   reads here again *h3*. *Vide supra*, p. 57.

⁴ In the plate we should perhaps read  for .

CHAPTER V.

THE WEST WALL OF THE ENTRANCE PASSAGE, THE SLOPING PASSAGE
AND CENTRAL HALL.

THE Book of Gates, inscribed on this wall, is known from Seti's sarcophagus, and parts of it recur in some of the Royal Tombs at Thebes. Thus it seemed unwarranted to incur the very heavy costs which a complete reproduction of the wall would entail. Photographs of the whole wall were taken, but in Plates LII–LXII are merely given the variant readings of our text. For an easy mode of reference BUDGE's publication of the text in *Egyptian Heaven and Hell II* is used, with reference to BONOMI and LEFÉBURE only where it was necessary. We have given side by side, on the left of a short vertical stroke the text in BUDGE, and on the right its variation in our text, also in cases where our text is obviously mistaken, so that some idea of its value and relative purity can be gained. The text continues in the two instances with identical words after each quotation.

It should be noted that the very damaged state of the cover of Seti's sarcophagus led BUDGE to combine in his 7th Division fragments from that cover and a chapter preserved in Seti's Tomb (LEFÉBURE, I, 2^e partie, Pl. xi ff.). On our wall they appear, however, consecutively as two separate divisions. On the assumption, therefore, that the Netherworld is meant to be pictured as having twelve and not thirteen divisions, one must view the final scene, in which Nun lifts the boat of Re and Osiris encircles the Duat, as a representation which stands outside the scheme of the Divisions, just as the "Hall of Osiris" does not by itself form a Division. The latter is given in collotype in Pl. LV as a specimen of the decoration of this wall, which is of somewhat better workmanship than that of the other.

The texts of the two rooms which follow are published by Miss Murray.

The texts of the SLOPING PASSAGE (Pls. LXIII–LXVII) begin at the eastern end of the south wall with the first chapters of the Book of the Dead, and the same wall contains Ch. xvii. The texts on the north wall start at the western end with Ch. xcix, after which one follows which is not in the ordinary recensions; next come Chapters cxlv and cxxv. The inscriptions are all sculptured, but the limestone has suffered much from salts and flakes off in places. In the south wall is a large breach. (The figure on the right-hand edge of our Pl. LXX is repeated over the remaining surface of the wall.)

The Transversal Room has lost almost all its inscriptions. On the lintel and the door-jambs of the doorway leading to the Central Hall are to be seen some traces of Chapter CLXXXIII.

On the granite architraves of the south side of the Central Hall Merenptah is seen "offering Truth to his father Re(-Harakhty), the great god of variegated plumage." Next follow four of the celestial cows and two of the rudders of Heaven, and finally five mummied gods, including the earth-god Tathunen and a baboon-headed deity, are shown as protectors of the king. (Pls. LXXI, LXXII.)

The eastern wall of the Central Hall is divided into five sections, Pl. LXXIII.

1. The highest register shows in the middle the so-called "fetish" of Abydos, probably the reliquary in which the head of Osiris was kept. The pole with the head-shaped top is supported by a stand in the shape of two human figures wearing the White Crown. On each side is Merenptah adoring Osiris, and on the left he offers Truth to Re-Harakhty, on the right to a god whose name is lost. The king appears everywhere underneath the disk of Horus of Edfu. On both ends of the wall a small space left underneath the roofing-slabs is filled with a kneeling figure of the king.

2. In the middle is pictured, underneath a sun-disk with two Uraei carrying the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively (but not in accordance with the corresponding points of the compass), the ornate Dad-pillar which was a cult-, or at least a ritual object in the temple of Abydos. It is supported by two human figures wearing again the two crowns of Egypt, while two Uraei, marked as Isis and Nephthys, are figured beside the pylon-shaped foot. On the left is seen Merenptah offering linen to Osiris; behind that he offers to Shu, bread perhaps, and finally wine to Wepwawet of Upper Egypt. On the right side of the Dad-pillar Merenptah is anointing Osiris with his little finger; behind this scene he appears offering flowers to Geb, and finally offering bread (?) to Wepwawet.

3. In the middle is again figured a ritual object, this time in the shape of the girdle-loop, on a pylon-shaped foot and crowned by a female head with uraeus and composite crown. To the left the king offers Truth to Osiris, and behind he burns incense and libates for Heqet, and offers two pots with wine to Shentyw (?). Then follows the Ka-name of the king. On the right of the middle the wall is badly damaged, but one still sees Merenptah offering Truth to Osiris.

4. Above the door of the central cell Merenptah is shown offering to the four children of Horus. On the door-jambs Merenptah "*justified with Osiris*" is praying; again the crown of Upper Egypt is worn by the figure on the north, and the crown of Lower Egypt on the south. To the left Thoth is shown purifying Merenptah. In front of the king are the Wolf- and the placenta-standards, the latter held by an ankh-sign. In front of the king Osiris, with a composite crown, and holding crook, flail and sceptre, is enthroned.

On the right is first seen Anubis introducing Merenptah into the presence of Osiris, who wears a pectoral in the shape of a double uraeus. The king holds a heart amulet with his left hand. The vulture-goddess of El Kab is above the king. The text reads:

Said by Anubis who is in Ut, who counts all things done by King Merenptah: "Numerous are his good (deeds) in very high degree, being put on the scale."

And Osiris says: *Thou art empty of his mistake; his failure is not found. Put back his heart in his body, the heart staying on (read hr) its place.*

On the left side is seen how Merenptah, preceded by two standards, is purified by Thoth. The text reads: *Said by Thoth who is in Hsrt: Thy purification is the purification of Horus, and vice versa, thy purification is the purification of Thoth, and vice versa, thy purification is the purification of Geb, and vice versa, thy purification is the purification of Horus, and vice versa. Pure, pure is the Osiris King M.* Osiris, wearing a most elaborate head-dress, and with staves and flail, is shown in a chapel on the right-hand side.

5. Band with the names of Merenptah.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EAST SIDE OF THE ROOF OF THE SARCOPHAGUS ROOM.

1. THE North end on this side shows a panel (Pl. LXXIV) which is divided into two sections. The tomb of Ramessu IX shows a similar representation (LEFÉBURE, II, Pl. 21). The groups of gods who are present are named in ordinary script, but the other inscriptions are given in a particularly elaborate form of enigmatic writing. It seems probable that the vertical column, which divides the upper register, and above which is pictured the winged disk of Horus of Edfu, contains names and titles of Seti. The strip which separates the two registers is marked as water in the tomb of Ramessu IX; and in Seti's Cenotaph two "Niles" with the plants of Lower and Upper Egypt are framing it. In the Lower register Seti is seen stretched on a lion-couch underneath which are his regalia and weapons. The king is obviously considered dead, for his face is painted green in the corresponding picture of Ramessu IX, and the structure which stands over him may perhaps be equally well explained as a sarcophagus or as a funerary canopy, such as we know it now from the tomb of Tutankhamen. But the scene represents how the king is resuscitated from his torpor. The large hieroglyph which is written above him (perhaps with a conscious allusion to the shelter which it represents) asserts that he is *awake*, and indeed a male figure, which is unfortunately badly damaged, extends to Seti the signs of life, stability and health. Perhaps we have to see in this figure the Ka of the king, as the Horus-name seems to refer to it. This scene represents therefore the greatest mystery of the Egyptian beliefs, and this may explain why the accompanying texts are protected from the profane by particularly enigmatic writing.

The decipherment of the enigmatic script would entail wider research than can be embodied in this volume.

2. Next to the panel in which the resuscitation of Seti is shown, his progress through the underworld in the Sun-boat is pictured (Pl. LXXV). We first see him standing between the arms of Nut, whose body, simplified to a mere rectangle covered with stars, forms the top of the representation. In the following sections the god in charge of each hour is said to guide Re to the next gate, and Seti claims for various reasons to be one of the crew. Much abbreviated, these scenes and texts are found in the tomb of Rameses IV (LEFÉBURE, III, 3^e div., Pl. xxvii).¹

The words referring to the entering of the Netherworld are: [. . . . setting] to judge the inhabitants of the Netherworld and to know the condition of the Westerners, and to know the condition (B) of the flocks of small cattle (notice that a variety of every kind is given in the determinative) the ends of the earth in the twilight. . . .

The text of the middle section is recut and stands now in sunk relief, underneath the head of Nut. It reads:

¹ Compare the following texts describing the gateways with the very similar Chap. cxlvii of the *Book of the Dead* (Pap. of Nu).

The setting in life of the Majesty of this god, the making of splendour and of rays in the darkness. The opening of the gate of Heaven in the West, the letting loose of the torch in the land of the damned (?) but see lower section). *The taking of the towing rope of the divine barque by the sailors, the giving of praise by the gods of the Netherworld. The approaching to the first gateway* (named) “*Mistress of Heaven and Earth*,” and to the second hour (named) *Shesa* “*who protects her Lord.*” *The god who is in this hour as the guide of this god: the bull of Iakhu. The first gateway, the mistress of trembling, high of walls, chieftain, mistress of destruction, foretelling words, repelling the raging, saviour of the robbed and of him who comes from far* (?). B). *mistress of terror.*

The following inscription, recut, is put above the sun-boat in which there are Hu and Sia, and, in the midst of the boat, Re, Seti and Maat in a chapel surrounded by a serpent (Pl. LXXVI) :

Words said by the King Seti: O shining bull, great god who makes this god enter the horizon, upon . . . I am the one who makes Re enter with thee (?), I command . . . I pilot this chosen crew (B) in the ship to see the beautiful West. . . . O Sia, bring thou my words to Atum, when he enters the Netherworld. Cause that the Ennead of the West and the spirits know what I have done for them. . . .

Facing the foregoing is written above the towers of the boat:

Commands to the gods: Take your heads, join your bones, receive your offerings (B). And also: The Shining bull, King Seti, gifted with life is with the untiring stars.

In the upper section are a number of gods, some named, some representing divine corporations, viz.: The souls of Pe, the souls of Nekhen, the Great Ennead, the Grand Ennead, and the gods of the four points of the compass. It is worthy of note that the epithet “*whose name is hidden*” seems here to refer to Thoth, though Professor Boylan in his exhaustive study does not mention it.

In the lower section there are first three groups of three mummies each. Each group stands for a whole class of beings. Their names are given by three terms for the dead, which differ perhaps as little in meaning as do the figures. Then follows the god Sia, who says: *Count your hearts, receive your offerings.* Next follow swimmers and figures which are prostrate, the middle one in each case being a woman, and finally there is a figure of the king, with a short unintelligible inscription.

3. A vertical column marks the beginning of the next division:

The second gateway, of flaming fire, of burning material, sharp of glare, quick in killing . . . by whom one cannot pass without loss (B), (named) “She who introduces to her lord.” In the top section we read: *The sailing of the Majesty of this god, the approaching to the second gateway of flaming fire, of burning material, sharp of glare, quick in killing, . . . by whom one cannot pass without loss, “She who introduces to her lord,” and to the third hour (named) “She who cuts up the souls.” The god who is in this hour as a guide of this god: the bull of the two lands.*

The middle section contains, as in the foregoing division, the words of the king (Pl. LXXVII):

O Bull which is the guide (of Re ?) in this hour, . . . behold I am with Those-who-are-

not-tired. *My hands are pulling in front of them. My heart wishes to remember your forms* (?), B) *in order to be amongst you. I am divine, I am virtuous, I am powerful, I am resting upon the throne of Atum. I have done this to satisfy your Kas and to elevate my name; make for me (?) a place in your midst so that I sail with Re in the Netherworld.*

In the lowest section are represented: *Those who are awake, those who are asleep, those who are silent, those who are resuscitated, those who are drowned, the spirits, the shadows, the peasants (?), the Minemiu.* The figures of the last two groups are female, the middle figures of the drowned, the resuscitated, the silent and the shadows are female, and the shadows are shaped as children.

4. The long vertical column which opens this division is continued in the top section.

The third gate sharp of knife, mistress of the Two Lands, who destroys the enemies of Tired-of-heart, creating fear for the spirits of Him-who-is-free-from-Sin,¹ removing² evil. The sailing of the Majesty of this god, the approaching to the third gate sharp of knife, mistress of the Two Lands, destroying the enemies of Tired-of-heart, creating fear for the spirits of Him-who-is-free-from-Sin, removing evil, and to the fourth hour (named) She-who-is-great-of-force. The god who is in this hour as the guide of this god: Sesh Hetepef.

Middle section: like the circumpolar stars. *Sailing happens* (B), *sailing is done while Re rests in the mountain of Manu. I am counted Hu and Sia lead my excellence.*

Lower section: There are three groups of three figures, each identical with the last two groups of the preceding division. Then follows a sign suggesting mountainous woodland, and finally two groups of three beings with queer fishlike heads and hands tied on their backs (Pl. LXXVIII).

5. The vertical column which opens the text is damaged and gives the name of the gate. The text continues in the top section:

The fourth gate, the mistress of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands, . . .³ . . . the mistress of the entire land, great of dignity; and to the fifth hour named She-who-is-in-her-ship. The god who is in this hour as a guide of this god: Ma'ā^c-her.

The middle section, very damaged, shows again the progress of the sun-boat.

The lower section shows on the extreme left three men with arms tied on back, and strange heads, named "The followers of Seth." Next there are three men without heads, and then three with locks of hair hanging over their foreheads, all with hands tied on back. Then there are three groups of men on couches, and three groups of three women.

6. Vertical column continued in top register.

The fifth gate, mistress of life. The sailing of the Majesty of this god, approaching to the fifth gate, (named) mistress of life, and to the sixth hour, (named) Mespertyt. The god who is in this hour as guide of this god: Horherkhet.

¹ Cf. this name in *Book of the Dead*, *ibid.*, Pylon iv.

² The parallel gives *shr*.

³ *nsbyt*: cf. this name in *Book of the Dead*, *ibid.*, Pylon II.

Middle register :

Words said by King Seti: O Horherkhet who guides the great god to the (sixth) hour. I know . . . I am with thee, I heard what Osiris ("Wennefer") says concerning my justification.

In the bottom register there are two men and one woman who appear to stand upon mummies. It is, however, probably an illustration of the text immediately above which says: *The living souls sail, their corpses sail on their seats.* The idea of the dead who are yet alive, or whose souls at least are alive, is in this primitive way expressed, perhaps under influence of the often recurring idea that the souls rest upon the corpses. Next come (Pl. LXXIX) three figures bent forward with their hands in front of their faces, then what are probably meant to represent three fire-pots (*hw*), then another group of twice three persons, and then, beyond the vertical column but presumably still belonging to our group, a group of three persons, viz., a woman, and a man who carries a child. Above is written: *km;*, perhaps *creating* (?) or *forming* (?) .

7. Of the vertical column only the name of the following (seventh) hour is left: "Who beats the associates of Seth." Most of the top section and the text of the middle section is lost. In the lower section Horus is pictured leaning on his staff, and he says: *You are the rebels, . . . the enemies of my father Osiris, Horus . . . he will beat you.*

In front of him are, standing: *People from Egypt; People from the Desert;* and kneeling with arms tied on their backs: *Negroes, Mazoi, Libyans, Asiatics.* The differentiation of these groups is of the slightest description, and in fact only to be found in the hair-dress of Libyans and Syrians. Above the whole scene is written: *What Horus did for his father Osiris. . . .*

8. The seventh gate (named) "the chieftain who fights for her lord." *Sailing by the Majesty of this god . . . passing by the gate of the sanctuary of Heracleopolis. Approaching to the seventh gate (named) "the chieftain who fights for her lord," and to the eighth hour (named) "mistress of darkness."* *The god who is in this hour as a guide for this god: Horus of the Netherworld.*

9. The eighth gate: *Mert Nes* (Pl. LXXX (1)).

The last slabs of this wall (Pl. LXXX) are remarkable because they show how some parts of the wall are worked in great detail, while others must merely have shown the preliminary drawings of which nothing now remains.

CHAPTER VII.

DECAN TABLES AND COSMOGRAPHICAL TEXTS ON THE WESTERN
SIDE OF THE ROOF OF THE SARCOPHAGUS ROOM.

1. A COLOSSAL figure of Nut, supported by Shu, occupies the northern half of this side of the roof (Pl. LXXXI). The meaning of this representation in the Cenotaph we have discussed already above (p. 27). On her body are given the names of the Decans, and underneath her, and also on her arms and legs, are tabulated the days and months upon which a morning, a midnight or an evening rising of the corresponding constellation occurred.¹ Conversely this table could now be used to fix the day and season of the year and the hour of the night by one who would observe the night-sky and recognise how the position of the constellations stood. To facilitate this the actual appearance of each constellation is graphically rendered underneath its name on the body of Nut. The changes in the position of the stars, which proceed, of course, gradually from night to night, are here given in periods of ten days, so that the differences between each two succeeding periods are sufficiently striking to be noticed. This same table, but with a great number of mistakes, appears in the tomb of Ramessu IV.² This implies, obviously, that the table cannot be used straight away, as it is identical in two cases which are separated by 150 years, so that it appears to disregard the shifting of the Egyptian calendar through the astronomical year. And indeed it seems that these tables, just as the festival calendar of Medinet Habu,³ were intended to apply to the "standard year," in which the heliacal rising of Sirius fell on the first day of the first month; this seems to be indicated explicitly in our sculpture above the figure of Shu on Nut's body (Text H). To use the tables one therefore required an additional one showing how far the calendar had shifted through the seasons. Such a "correspondence table" is actually known.⁴ Whether it was present in the Sarcophagus room of Seti's Cenotaph we cannot say; it may conceivably have stood on one of the walls of the room. Decan tables are also found in Middle Kingdom coffins, and the extraordinary interest which the fixing of the hours of the night had for the dead can only be explained on the assumption that he thought that this knowledge would enable him to keep up with the sun's progress through the Netherworld, which was described according to these hours.

¹ SETHE, *Nachrichten d. Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Göttingen*, 1919, 293, footnote 1: *tp-t* morning rising; *sःd-t* ("watch of the Netherworld") midnight rising; *mःt* ("Birth") evening rising; see further *loc. cit.*, 291, n. 3; 305 ff.; *Ibidem*, 1920, 97 ff. The 36 Decans ignore the five epagomenal days and form only the old year of 360 days. Instead of providing a division of each month into three parts, they therefore overlap and fall in one year on the 1st, 11th and 21st of each month, in the next year however on the 6th, 16th and 26th. They go back to, at least, the Third Dynasty, and may well be older (SETHE, *loc. cit.*, 1920, 98, n. 1).

² ROSELLINI, III, LXVII-LXVIII, i.e. BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 174/5.

³ BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 364.

⁴ SETHE, *Urk.*, IV, 44; ED. MEYER, *Nachträge zur Aegyptischen Chronologie*, 7 ff.

2. In the space left by the table of Decans some smaller texts appear which are of interest. Partly they explain the main representation, partly they add details which enrich our knowledge of Egyptian Cosmography.

A. In front of Nut are three vertical columns of inscription: it seems that the first column refers to the space outside Nut's arms, where the inscription actually stands and where the sun would never come. What the "birds" are is further explained in B.

Text A runs:

Twilight, heaven of the gods, the place from which the birds come;

This is from (?) its north-western side up to its north-eastern side, (viz.) the opening of the Netherworld which is on her northern side.—Her hinder part is in the east, her head in the west.

B. The two small vertical columns in front of the elbows of Nut give a further specification of the position, but they are unfortunately too much damaged to be clear:

Her right arm is on the north-western side, south-eastern (side).¹

C. Finally there is a third statement in three small lines just above her head, which says:

Her head is in the western horizon, so that she may eat (𓀃 sic for 𓀃) in the West (B).

This "eating" may well refer to the swallowing of the stars, which is dealt with so fully in the "Dramatic Text."

D. This text, five horizontal lines near to A, explains what the birds are which A mentions. They are soul-birds, and our text contains an unusually full statement on the matter:

*These birds have faces like men,
But their nature is that of birds. One of them speaks
To the other with words of weeping.—Now after they come
To eat vegetables and green stuff in Egypt, they flutter
Under the rays of heaven, and then their shapes become birdlike.*

E. Underneath are sculptured two ellipses, and in the lower one birds were figured, of which one can still be seen. Above is a small vertical column of text: *The nests which are in heaven.*

F. Against the mouth of Nut the sun-disk is figured, apparently with folded wings. To the right there are ten short columns:

The Majesty of this god enters into her mouth in² the Netherworld. The Netherworld is opened when he sails in it. The stars enter after him and they come forth after him, and they hasten to their places.

¹ A full discussion of these matters is now to be found in SETHE, *Altaegyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne*. *Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad.*, 1929.

² That *m hnw*, "in," might perhaps be meant by this extraordinary writing was suggested to me by PROFESSOR GRAPOW, who quoted PIEHL, *Inscr.*, II, 85; BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 1378; DÜMICHEN, *Baugesch.* 8, and SETHE, *Urk.*, II, 39, compared with *Urk.*, II, 47.

There seems here to be an inconsistency between the mythological and the "natural" view. The sun is supposed to light the Netherworld while the stars stand in the sky above the earth; yet they are made into the followers of the sun, which accompany him. It is, of course, possible to find a rational explanation, if we take it that the stars "enter" the night sky after the sun has descended into the Netherworld, and similarly "go forth" after him into the darkness, but it seems very improbable that this was really meant by the Egyptian.¹ A pretty feature of the text is the expression that the stars "hasten to their places," which describes how very soon after sunset the whole sky is covered with the glittering stars, though all of them are born by Nut in the East when the sun sets.

G. Between the sun-disk and the outstretched arms of Nut there are five columns of inscription which present numerous difficulties, and a translation is not attempted here. The text describes the entrance of the Sun-god into the Underworld when he sets in the evening.

H. Above Shu, on the body of Nut, is written :

..... *in the first month of inundation after Sothis has appeared.*

This seems to refer to the table with the three risings for each Decan.

I. On the ground upon which Shu stands is written in the middle "sand"; further on, on each side, a short remark which is not clear.

J. A long line of inscription underneath the table, and a badly damaged line above the body of Nut are obscure.

In the left half of the picture the sun is seen three times: once in the soil by itself, once on the foot of Nut, apparently still inside the earth, and finally as a beetle flying along Nut's thigh.

The cosmic significance of the figures is further exemplified by the indication given on the groin of Nut, that it is the *Eastern Horizon*.

K. On the thighs of Nut the birth of the sun is actually described in three horizontal lines of text, of which the first is obscure :

(1) *He bursts forth (???) afterwards (or outside ? B).* (2) *Then he opens the thighs of his mother Nut (3) and then he departs towards the sky.*

L. On the foot of Nut is a short sentence which rather conflicts with the statement of the preceding text that, in the place actually marked as the "Eastern Horizon," the sun is born and starts from there straight away on his voyage along the sky. For the sun-disk lies on her foot, as if Nut had dropped him there and he were about to start the upward journey along her leg, as the beetle is indeed pictured as doing; and near that disk, on Nut's foot, it is said: *The Majesty of this god comes forth from her hinder part.*

¹ For the very ancient and close connection which existed between the stars and the representations of the Netherworld, see KEEs, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen*, 91 ff.; 131. This connection, and especially that between Netherworld and Circumpolar stars, is responsible for a discrepancy between text *A*, where, in accordance with the astral view of the hereafter, the Netherworld is situated in the North, and the other texts where the sun and stars, by entering Nut's mouth in the West, enter the *Duat*.

The conflict of views expressed in this and in the preceding text respectively may be a consequence of the co-existence of two incompatible cosmographies: one assuming that the sun rises where sky and earth meet, the other anthropomorphical one taking the meeting-place of sky and earth to be where hands and feet of Nut stand, so that the sun cannot be born there. This last view prevails in the following text:

M. Two lines, written in front of the foot, above the disk:

He opens with his splitting, he swims on. . . .

N. The text written on the calf of Nut is in keeping with *L* and *M*:

Then he goes slowly towards the earth.

O. Behind Nut are the lilies of Upper Egypt, and upon them is the vulture goddess of El Kab. Then follows a vertical column of text:

This god is on her south-eastern side. . . .

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SHADOW CLOCK.

THE next part of the roof shows an inscription in vertical columns underneath four vignettes or headings (Pls. LXXXII and LXXXIII). Above is written: *Knowing the hours of the day and night. An example of fixing noon.*

A. The right half of this part is marked in particular: *Knowing the hours of the night*, and this seems to refer to two sections, of five and seven columns respectively. Above each section appears a word for "night." To the right is a section similarly marked "Dawn," but the three columns which belong to it are too damaged to be interpreted.

The two preceding sections, of five and seven columns, seem to contain the names of the hours of the night, which are, however, not identical with those given elsewhere. At the bottom of these twelve columns is written each time the name of a part of the body, and, as Dr. de Buck suggests, these may be intended to locate the sun during the night. For we have seen (text *F* above) that the sun enters into Nut at dusk, and is born again in the morning. The twelve limbs may thus be mentioned as milestones on the sun's way through Nut; they are: *the hand, the lip, the tooth, the throat, the breast, the , the , the intestine, her bowels, the vulva, the spine, the thigh.*

B. The left half of this section of the roof is particularly interesting; there are given the directions for the use of a shadow clock. Several such are actually in museums, and Professor Borchardt has explained in detail how they work.¹ But our model, which is actually pictured above the vertical columns with the explanatory text, differs from those known in some important details.

The principle of all these clocks is the same: the upstanding part throws a shadow which shortens till noon, and lengthens then again. The problem is, therefore, to mark on the horizontal part of the clock points at such distances from each other that the shadow will take an hour to travel from one point to the next. Even so the length of the hours will vary with the seasons, according to the height of the sun; but the hours marked by the Egyptian shadow clocks are even of unequal length on any given day, and the discrepancy is quite considerable. Borchardt has thought of a means by which these discrepancies could be diminished, and has surmised that a cubit with bevelled sides was laid horizontally upon the upright and that its position was changed each hour, so that the differences in the rate with which the shadow travelled along the horizontal were counteracted to some extent by the different heights of the upright which threw the shadow. Even so the hours remain unequal except at the equinoxes, and it is more than likely that the ancient Egyptians, like their modern descendants, were satisfied if they had a rough and ready way to divide the day into small parts of approximately equal duration, provided the method was simple. Our

¹ BORCHARDT, *Die Aegyptische Zeitrechnung*, in BASSERMANN-JORDAN, *Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*. 1920, 26 ff. Also *Zeitschrift f. Aeg. Sprache*, XLVIII, 9 ff.

clock was not unsatisfactory for such a purpose, as we shall see, and even better than the more elaborate extant clocks in Berlin. As our text and representation show it was certainly used without the cubit, but this does not prove, of course, that the ingenious combination of cubit and clock which Borchardt suggested may not have been customary with the more elaborate type of shadow clock.

After these preliminary remarks we turn to the representations on the roof of the Sarcophagus chamber. We see that above the horizontal branch of the clock four divisions are marked, with the numerals 3, 6, 9, 12. The extant shadow clocks in Berlin show six instead of four sections, a fact which we shall soon be able to explain. But it is striking that, notwithstanding this difference, all the features which are essential are the same in our model and in the extant clocks. These features are the ratio between the upright and the horizontal (given in our case in lines 5-7), and the ratio of the first four divisions on the horizontal, which is in both cases 1:2:3:4. This implies that the Berlin specimens have merely got two sections added to those which they have in common with ours.

It might be thought that our shadow clock is also pictured with six divisions, if we assume that the distance between the upright and the first marking, and also the distance between the end and the last marking count as such. But the small vertical strokes are in no way picturing the actual division of the horizontal; they serve merely to indicate that the horizontal is divided and in what ratio, and the identity of this ratio with that of the actual specimens in Berlin shows that the first marking was actually put at the very foot of the upright.

The text referring to this clock runs as follows:

(Line 1) *The hour of the day of beginning the fixing of the place. [Knowing (?)] the hours;*

(2) *the hour after the first landing;*

(3) *the hour after the second landing;*

(4) *the hour after the third landing;*

(5-7) *knowing the [hours] . . . 5 span in its length, the height . . . of (fem.) two fingers in its height . . . on the head of the st:t . . . these 5 span into four parts (?)¹*

(8) *being branded (?? B) upon this st:t; you shall put 12 hp (?)² therefrom for the first hour, you shall put 9 therefrom for the second hour, you shall put 6 therefrom*

(9) *for the third hour, you shall put 3 therefrom for the fourth hour, while you have correctly put this st:t facing the sun with its head towards³ the east—(the head*

(10) *namely) upon which is the mrht so that the shadow of the sun will be correct upon this st:t. Now after the fourth hour has reached its end, you shall turn round*

¹ The open spaces in the lines where no signs have been cut suggest, as in the adjoining text with which Dr. de Buck deals in the next chapter, that our copyist worked from an original which was already defective. For "the head of the st:t" see line 9.

² See page 79, note 1.

³ This translation rests upon the unproven assumption that — stands as enigmatic writing for *r* which here and in line 12 would make good sense, and which is actually used in line 11 where the instrument is turned round and points towards the east with its other end (B).

(11) *this st:t with its plank¹ towards the east, after the sun has stood in the zenith of this mr̄ht. You shall reckon these² hours (?) . . .*

(12) . . . until³ the sun enters⁴ also in four hours according to the former rule. It is adding up to the eighth hour for⁵

(13) *two hours have passed in the morning before the sun shines <viz. on the st:t> and also two hours have passed after the sun has entered <viz. into the Netherworld> on account of (?) the fixing of the hours of the night.*

Unfortunately, two passages in the directions for the use of the shadow clock are not clear, but there is no doubt as to the trend of thought, and while Borchardt's inferences are brilliantly confirmed in general there are some points which we now learn for the first time.

In the first place the instrument as a whole is not called *mr̄ht* but *st:t*, the word *mr̄ht* being used properly for the upright part of the clock, the "hand" or "indicator." But in later times a *pars pro toto* usage may have procured this designation for the instrument as a whole, as is generally assumed.⁶

The inscription starts with four columns, which each bear in their upper part a circle, and lower down the word "hour," and finally a specification as to what this hour is. Now the markings on the horizontals of the extant specimens of shadow clocks are circles, and as we have seen that our clock bears actually four such markings it seems that these lines refer to those, and that they indicate which four hours are marked by the shadow passing through the four markings on the horizontal of the clock. Thus it is said that the sun starts to mark time on this clock when the retreating shadow, some time after sunrise, reaches the first mark, which, of course, is that farthest away from the upright which throws the shadow. The arrival of the shadow at each of the following markings is described as a "landing," no doubt under the influence of the idea that the movement of the shadow corresponds with that of the sun in the sky, which was conceived as the passage of the solar barque. Similarly the continuous movement of the sun through the Netherworld was divided into "hours," at the end of each of which a certain change took place.

Next we get, in lines 5-7, further details of the clock, introduced with the remark that we shall now learn how to use the clock for its purpose. But, as Dr. de Buck has remarked, the details which now follow are only of value for one who is going to make such a clock; of course, we should not forget that this text is inscribed on a funerary monument, and was effective by its mere presence, so that since it contained actually the details of the clock necessary for its fabrication Seti could never stand in need of it without it being there. We first learn the measurements of the plank and of its upright. The bottom part of line 7 is unfortunately not very clear, but it seems certain that it meant to convey that upon the horizontal branch, which measures 5 span, there are four divisions made according to the ratio which is indicated next. The markings of these divisions are, according to Dr. de

¹ The reading *mrtwt* is certain. The translation "plank" is based on the assumption that *mrtwt* is mistaken for *mrt*, *mr̄ht*, and not a new technical term.

² If  stands as enigmatic writing for *nn* (B).

³ See note 3 on p. 77.

⁴ Cf. the expression *Lebensmüder* 73. Sall. 2, 5, 2 (B).

⁵ Dittoigraphy of *ntt wn* (B).

⁶ BORCHARDT, *Zeitmessung*, 4; SETHE, *Zeitrechnung*, 139.

Buck's suggestion, "branded" upon the horizontal branch, which would mean that the original clocks were of wood, such as the modern one shown in Plate LXXXVI. These wooden examples have not survived. The modern example which I am allowed to publish, together with the explanatory label, by the kindness of Colonel Sir Henry Lyons, F.R.S., Director of the Science Museum, South Kensington, was divided with the help of pots of water which are emptied, and one is tempted to suppose the same for the ancient clocks, the more so as *nhp* is the name of a type of pot.¹ On the other hand, Borchardt has pointed out that the mistakes in the water and shadow clocks of ancient Egypt differ in such a way that they must have been evolved independently. In any case, comparison with the Berlin specimens shows that a *hp* is represented by 5 millimetres on our clock, which is $1\frac{1}{5}$ as big as Berlin 19743.

Immediately after the division is given, it is said how the clock should be put to get correct readings; it must stand with the upright towards the sun in the east-west line. This again has been rightly surmised by Borchardt, as well as the fact that the instrument must be reversed at mid-day, to be used for the lengthening shadow of the afternoon. Of course, the sun never stands quite in the zenith of the upright, but the essential fact is that "after the fourth hour" the shadow has shrunk to almost nothing, and what there is of it falls just on the north side of the upright, outside the horizontal branch of the clock.

What follows in the text is obscure, but it is clear that the fact is stated that the clock may now be used to measure four hours in the afternoon. Then the total of eight hours, measured with the clock, is given, and then follows an astonishing statement, obviously made to combine an instrument and a theory which are not compatible. The day is said to have twelve hours, the instrument is only able to measure eight, consequently there must exist four which are not registered by the clock, two in the morning and two in the evening. The generally accepted view² that the division of the day into twelve hours was artificial, is here confirmed in a striking manner. As a matter of fact no twelve hours such as the clock marks as an average are possible in one day, seeing that the four of the morning would be, according to Borchardt's table, 40', 75', 105', 80'. Correct, however, is the observation that some time elapses each day before and after the clock starts to work, and we may, after having followed its description in the text, understand its various peculiarities better when we realise how it was made. Like all Egyptian instruments it will have been based on age-long observations and on some experimenting, but not on a theoretical argument. The fundamental observation on which the shadow clock was based was that the shadow moved, and perhaps even that the shadow moved more quickly early and late in the day than at mid-day, when it almost disappeared. To utilize these observations it was necessary to mark the recipient of the shadow, *viz.* the horizontal branch of our shadow clock, in such a way that the time taken by the shadow to travel from one point to another was equal. In the beginning this may have been done purely on experimental lines in each case anew, and, of course, some simple means, like a watchman going sentry on a temple-wall, or men beating

¹ Dr. de Buck points out how unusual the place of the numeral is if *hp* (or perhaps *nhp*) indicates a measure of some sort, since the order, numeral + *n* + substantive, seems to be confined to Late Egyptian (SETHE, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten*, 44 ff.).

² BORCHARDT, *Zeitmessung*, 4; SETHE, *Zeitrechnung*, 139.

time in turn all through a day, must have been used to obtain the equal divisions. But in order to make the invention practicable, so that it could be transmitted to others in the manner of our inscription, a simple ratio between the succeeding parts had to be found. This was done, and obviously the smallest section of our horizontal is the unit for the others. That suggests that they started from mid-day, and this is furthermore probable if we consider how difficult it is to fix the exact beginning of day, to follow the quickly moving shadow of the early morning on a straight, narrow surface, and how easy it is to see exactly when the shadow is shortest and when, therefore, it is mid-day. Also the sun rises and sets every day at a different point of the horizon, and it is therefore "natural" to localize, as it were, the difference in the lengths of the days in summer and winter at the beginning and the end of each day, while at mid-day the sun stands always in the same direction and always throws the shortest shadow. Apparently it was now found that after mid-day the time required by the shadow to travel from the foot of the upright to the first point on the horizontal, was roughly the same as that required to reach a further point twice as far away from the first point as the latter was from the upright. Even a point put at three times this last-mentioned distance from the second point marked another lapse of time nearly enough alike to the two others. The series could even be extended once more, so that the ratio became 1a : 2a : 3a : 4a. Then, however, difficulties arose. The "hour" of the last section was shorter than the others. Moreover, the difference in the length of the days during the winter and the summer particularly affected the early and late "hours," because the differences in the extent of the obliquely falling shadow were very great for them. Thus in our clock no further division is attempted, and if one reckons together the time of the first "hour" and the time from sunrise till the beginning of the first "hour," it appears that our instrument is not so bad for dividing the day into eight parts. The "hours" would then be, on the morning of the equinox, 100 minutes, 75, 105 and 80.

It is probable, therefore, that our clock represents the original type, and it is interesting to note in this connection that Sethe¹ has found that from very early times there persisted a division of the day and night into four parts, in the case of night-watches and day-watches in the navy, which spread from there to other services. Yet the extant shadow clocks, with their six divisions, are obviously attempts to bring the theory of the twelve hours of day and night into practice. This is done by mechanically adding two sections, continuing the series 1a ; 2a ; 3a ; 4a with 5a ; 6a. But little was gained in this way for the purpose of practical use, as the "hours" thus gained are only 35 and 25 minutes long at the equinoxes. As we have seen already above the use of the cubit in connection with the clock, which was surmised by Borchardt, may belong to these more elaborate clocks. It deserves notice that one of the Berlin specimens dates from the reign of Thutmosis III, so that the use in Seti's Cenotaph of the older model may be due to the archaism characteristic of funerary texts.

¹ *Zeitrechnung*, 127 ff.

APPENDIX.

Explanatory label of a modern Egyptian shadow clock exhibited in the Science Museum, South Kensington (by courtesy of the Director). Cf. Pl. LXXXVI.

SHADOW CLOCK.

Presented by W. M. HAYES, Esq.

This is an example from Qûs of a type of primitive time-measuring instrument which is still used in Upper Egypt. It is similar in principle to the ancient Egyptian shadow clock of the 10th to 8th century B.C.

Mounted on the middle of a wooden board, which is placed in an east and west direction, there are two short vertical sticks which are joined at the top by a transverse horizontal piece and resemble a miniature goal post. The position of the shadow cast by the transverse piece is utilized to indicate the passage of intervals of time, the board being graduated for this purpose in the example shown by tin tacks.

An initial mark is made after sunrise, and calibration of the successive periods is made by comparison with a water-clock, known as a "qadus," which consists of an earthenware pot with a small hole at the bottom. The pot is filled to the brim with water, and the time required to empty it is taken as a unit. The periods indicated on the board are not hours of time, and may correspond to one or more units depending upon the purpose for which the instrument is required. Such purposes are to indicate the duration of the tasks of labourers or oxen and, in connection with irrigation, to measure the flow of water to different plots of land.

Various modifications of the instrument are employed; in some a piece of twine replaces the horizontal piece, and a slab of clay is used instead of the wooden board. The "goal posts" may also be mounted directly on a levelled surface of ground.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DRAMATIC TEXT.

(Plates LXXXIV, LXXXV.)

By A. DE BUCK.

It is very unfortunate for us that a large part of this interesting text is utterly unintelligible. The first complete lines indeed tell a clear, coherent story, but after a few lines the drift of the narrative is completely lost. The lacunæ which interrupt the text at this point are the more serious because the subject is new to us and the text is written in an unfamiliar and partly enigmatic orthography. Moreover, as in the case of the worm-eaten original from which the text of the Shabako stone was copied, the ancient copyist of our document had a manuscript before him which was already at that time far from perfect. Small blank spaces corresponding to the lacunæ of the ancient original are found in ll. 15, 17, 23, but towards the end the gaps seem to have been so long as to leave only fragments of legible text.

This state of affairs would not cause much regret if the text were a less important document, or belonged to a class of texts of which we have already plenty of other examples; but it is particularly deplorable in the case of this text, which belongs to a literary *genre* of which only very few examples are known to us, viz., the so-called dramatic texts, which Sethe has recently analysed and explained in his book, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen*. That our text bears the closest analogy to Sethe's material is clear at first sight; as regards the general plan it shows the same combination of narrative portions, explanations and conversations, and in addition to this it uses many of the established phrases and peculiar words which are characteristic of this *genre* of literary works.

With regard to the date of the work it seems to me that there are two possibilities. The ambiguous character of the text, with its mixture of, partly at least, very ancient words and phrases and an orthography which often points to a later date, may be explained in two ways: either it is an originally ancient work in a modernised garb, or it is the more or less successful result of the archaising efforts of a later writer.

It will be clear from my introductory remarks that the following attempt at a translation has been made in a spirit of the utmost diffidence. A large part of it consists of little more than incoherent words and disjointed phrases, which have no other aim than to offer a basis for the criticism of more successful students.

20.1.1952, 410

TRANSLATION.

(1) *These stars sail to the end of the sky on her¹ outside² at night whilst they show themselves and are seen. They sail in her inside in the day-time (2) whilst they do not show themselves and are not seen.³ They enter after this god⁴ and they come forth after him. Then⁵ they sailed after him on the supports of Shu⁶ whilst they rest on (their) places⁷ after his Majesty⁴ has set (3) in the Western horizon. They enter her mouth in the place of her head in the West. Then she ate them. Then Geb quarrelled with Nut, because he was angry with her because of the eating of her young ones.⁸ Her name was called (4) "Sow who eats her pig(let)s," because she ate them. Then her father Shu lifted⁹ her and raised her to his head. [He?] said: "Beware (?) of Geb. Let him not quarrel with her because she eats (5) (their) children. She shall give birth to them and they shall live (again), and they shall come forth in the place at her hinder part in the East every day, even as she gave birth [the first time ?]. Her name is not called (?) "Mother of the gods" (?) since they have been born. Not one (6) of (them) falls being thrown off¹⁰ to the earth. Then His to the earth in 70 days. Her name is not called¹¹ (7) "She who loosens"¹² for seven days. The living name is not given (lit. "said," "called") to her who loosens (?). Then pure then Geb is pure. Then they lived; they showed (8) their heads from the horizon.¹³ They became¹⁴ [Not?] one of them Then their bones (9) fell to the earth*

¹ Though the text uses here the word for sky (*pt*) it is clear from the following lines that the author has in his mind the anthropomorphical cosmography exemplified by the picture of an earlier section, the sky-goddess Nut standing over the earth-god Geb.

² Translation doubtful. It may be suggested that the surface-meaning of *m h̄w-s* is rather "and further," but the sense and the contrast with *m hn̄w* below seem to favour my translation.

³ For the forms see GARDINER, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 486, Obs. 2.

⁴ The sun-god whose course is described by the texts accompanying the large figure of Nut.

⁵ The particle *šw* is variable in this text and agrees in number and gender with the subject. For *šj* see e.g. ll. 3, 16, 42. *Šw* is supposed to be a particle used for the purposes of narrative, and, as a matter of fact, there seems to be at this point a curiously abrupt transition from a description of what happens every day to a story which explains the present situation as the result of events which took place once in the beginning.

⁶ The firmament.

⁷ Does this mean "fixed in their positions"? Here and in the text of the shadow clock, ll. 1, 13, *dmj* is apparently a technical term.

⁸ If the text is correct this must be the meaning, *iw* being the word from which the ideogram  derives its sound-value. This ideogram represents a newly-dropped foal, and the word may have had the wider meaning of newly-born animal in general. The word anticipates the piglets of l. 4. If this explanation seems too venturesome it is necessary to correct the text to *mšw-s*.

For the conception of Nut as a mother eating her children the following passage may be of interest: SCHOTT, *Urkunden*, VI, 57. Here Nut says to Seth, "Do not say . . . : 'Is there a mother who eats (or has eaten) her children, is there a woman who wields her knife against him who has come forth from her?'" But it seems more probable that the intention of the text is merely to warn Seth that he must not think that Nut will do him no harm because it is inconceivable that a mother should kill her child.

⁹ *Šwj* is usually intransitive, *ššwj* being the transitive verb for "to raise to heaven (as Shu does)," e.g. Pyr. 275, 921, 1101. Another transitive example of *šwj* occurs, however, Pyr. 1517.

¹⁰ My translation assumes that *im* is used adverbially and that *ss* is the verb "to throw off" (see e.g. Pyr. 1197), but this is very doubtful. Another possibility is to read *im-s* (for *sn*) and *ss* the verb "to linger," etc.

¹¹ The *m* of equivalence is left out. Apparently a mistake. Cf. ll. 3, 5.

¹² Or is *šfl-t* a passive participle? Anyway there is a pun on *šfl* "seven" and *šfl* "to loosen."

¹³ The sense and the determinative, which is the original determinative of *št*, seem to indicate that this is the reading of the group. Does the animal stand for the *ḥb*, the "griffin"?

¹⁴ *Hpr-n* is very common in the narrative portions of the texts of this *genre* for "it happened." Here, however, the following *m* seems to demand another rendering.

as stars having fallen to (?)¹⁵ out.¹⁶ He flies upwards¹⁵ from (10) the sea in the likeness of a living (star?).¹⁷ It means that the stars come forth from the Netherworld (?) and fly up¹⁸ to the sky. Then Geb has become . . . then Geb . . . commanded that they show¹⁹ their heads (11) from the horizon once more.²⁰ Then Geb said to the gods: "Fish for yourselves your²¹ heads." Then Thoth commanded that they find their heads, their heads . . . ,²² their²³ bones have become (12) men. Now his²⁴ duration happened²⁵ in the Netherworld with a view to all²⁶ that he has to do (?) whilst these stars sail in the inside of the sky at night²⁷ after their goings have taken place to (13) the end of the sky in the day-time, whilst they did not show themselves in the sight and were not seen by the living. It is that a star there, the pig(let) of its mother,²⁸ has shown itself in the sky in (?) the hours of the night . . . (14) the sky in order to be beautiful to see. It is that he (the star) lives. Rr-mwt brought . . . like the making of the moon in a month.²⁹ It is that Horus provides himself with his two eyes on the second day of the month.³⁰ (15) It is that Nut provides her children with . . . in making the moon in a month . . . in the forms (?) which happen the night (16) when the month is strong on the day of reaehing.³¹ It is that Seth has taken the two eyes of Horus completely. It is the sitting of the Sem-priest in his house on the second day of the month.²⁹ It is that Horus sat down in making great his strength. Then (17) Isis took him; she put him in her mother Nut that she might proteet [him].³² She him that he might open his eye . . . in (18) the sky

¹⁵ Doubtful, but  probably stands several times for *r* in the inscription of the shadow clock (ll. 9, 12). Further down *pjrf r hr* makes good sense.

¹⁶ Reading *r b?*, see l. 19.

¹⁷ The stars after *nh* cannot be determinative, for they are needed as beginning of the next sentence. Still *nh* may be the word for "star" well known from late inscriptions. See for possible earlier examples Pyr. 458, 904.

¹⁸ Our passage seems to confirm Gardiner's view that the *shrij* (det. sky) of *Sin. R 7* is different from the verb *shrij* "to drive away."

¹⁹ Restore  as in l. 42.

²⁰ The first occasion on which they showed themselves is mentioned in l. 8.

²¹ Read *tpw-n?*

²² I have no suggestion to offer for the reading of this group. The same group oecurred perhaps in l. 7.

²³ The sign is clearly different from *k*. My translation assumes that it is the nose and an enigmatic writing for *sn*.

²⁴ I.e., of the sun-god?

²⁵ *Hpr?*  being for *h*.

²⁶ Probably an enigmatic writing for *nb*. It is the old determinative of *nbj* "to smelt gold" and the like, see e.g. Pyr. 1968. It oecurs several times in the list of names of the hours of the night following the text of the shadow clock, where *nbt* "lady of . . ." suits the context well.

²⁷ This contradicts the natural situation as described in l. 1. Perhaps *m hnw n pt* means here simply "in the sky."

²⁸ The translation of this passage is, of course, very doubtful, but it seems certain that *rr mutf* is not yet the name of the star, but the pun explaining the name *Rr-mwt* in l. 14.

²⁹ A difficulty throughout this passage is that *ibd* may mean two things, "month" and "second day of the month." After the preposition *n* "month" seems to make better grammar. GARDINER, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 164, 8. See, however, for *n* "on a day" e.g. Pyr. 794, 1711.

³⁰ The day on which the moon is visible again for the first time.

³¹  may be determinative of *ibd* (so ll. 14, 16), but l. 18 suggests the reading *hrw n spr*. It is tempting to connect this expression with the name of the third day of the month (*m spr*), as it stands between the mention of the second day and the following passage, which is clearly an aetiological story about the name of the fourth day of the month (*prt sm*).

³² *hr[f]* For *dnlnb* see Pyr. 1654 sqq.

in³³ the morning-bark. It is that Horus went that he might receive his eye in sound condition³⁴ in³³ the morning-bark,³⁵ that <he> might see with it in the morning when Re shows himself.³⁶ On the day of reaching since the evening^{36*} the Scm-priest sits in his house, (19) whilst he does not go out. It is that Horus sits, being angry,³⁷ whilst he mourns because Geb has confined³⁸ him. Then his strength was caused to become great after he had taken back his eye in the morning. Then the eye was given to Horus. Then Horus was mighty and (20) his heart was glad (after) his eye was given to him. He received it in³³ the morning-bark that he might go forth to his father Hor-akhte. Then Osiris commanded that he his eyes (?), that he might open his face and see with it.

(21) Geb says to Horus: ³⁹ "I dry off after you have beaten your face (?)." ⁴⁰ | Horus | moon.

(22) Osiris says to Horus:

(23) Then he went (and) (24) [came ?]. He does not come into existence (?) every day. He embraced his eyes him together with his mother that they might form everything which (?) Seth had taken⁴¹ (25) in Isis when he built They him, [they] equip him so that he repeats (?) his deed and becomes a boy,⁴² he comes forth, (26) he is equipped (?)⁴³ on this day They are with him in his cavern that he may be strong and mighty. Then Horus on account of it. (27) everything (?) which he has brought his rays everything which was taken from it in (28) Then Horus was content with his bones (29) knhw.⁴⁴ It is that Horus has collected

(30) Thoth says to Horus: "Take for yourself your eye."

(31) Thoth says to Horus: "Stretch forth your finger towards them. Collect | ? | Three red crowns. them." Ten thousands.⁴⁵

(32) It is that the moon is equipped after it has made a revolution.⁴⁶ It is that the moon becomes one together with him. It is the coming forth [of the moon | It is that the sun is in the West. together with] the sun.⁴⁷ | It is that the moon is in the East.

³³ Or "as the morning-bark." For the idea that the eyes are boats, see A.Z. 57, 108.

Wd:ij (?).

³⁵ Surely ~~~~~~~~ must be a mistake for ~~—~~, cf. the orthography of l. 20.

³⁶ The same two phrases occur closely together in Pyr. 1808.

^{36*} Dr *lywj* (?). The ideogram resembles that of *lywj* closely enough. For the phrase see e.g. Pyr. 1639.

³⁷ The same spelling of *spt* is found in the Pap. Dramat. Ramess., l. 8.

³⁸ *Sbh* (?), but the *dm-n.f* after prepositions is extremely rare. Perhaps it is a causative of *lbn*, meaning "to punish" or the like.

³⁹ The scribe evidently did not understand the arrangement by which speaker and listener were pictorially characterized as such by standing face to face. For further details about stage-directions, etc., see SETHE's *Dramatische Texte*. The two speeches here contain puns on the words *ih* "moon" and *r* "sun."

⁴⁰ Doubtful. There are, of course, several other possibilities. For another verb *l* "to catch," which is used in connection with the eye of Horus, see SETHE, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 174.

⁴¹ Read *it-tn* (?). Cf. l. 27 for the spelling.

⁴² is more probably determinative of *hwn* (see ll. 39, 45) than part of a group *lpr* as in l. 12.

⁴³ The trace looks like *f*, so that the perfective, which might be expected (cf. l. 33), does not seem possible.

⁴⁴ Possibly the twenty-fourth day of the month is meant.

⁴⁵ Or an unknown word? The speeches contain puns again.

⁴⁶ The *Wörterbuch* (V, 437) knows the word with this technical meaning from late sources. The next words evidently describe the situation when the moon is at her full (this is the real meaning of *lhm* here), when the moon rises and the sun sets simultaneously.

⁴⁷ Reading: *prt* [*ih*] *pw* [*hn*'] *r*'.

It is that . . . the day of offering a libation (st),⁴⁸ the morning of the fifteenth day of the month.

(33) *It is that Horus comes forth equipped after his two eyes have been given to him completely. . . . It is that Seth is mighty . . . it is that a day was taken away from the eye (?)⁴⁹ in fifteen days . . . (34) . . . Horus is mighty. Horus brings . . .*

(35) *It is that Horus comes into existence . . . before Osiris . . . in her hands which encircle him.*

(36) *Osiris says to Isis: "This which I have put there." . . . | mr | nidw.⁵⁰*

(37) *Then Horus was built (?), having become a boy . . . (38) Osiris . . .*

(39) . . . Then Thoth commanded . . . boy when she . . .

(40) *his hands. Then his hands became a vulva, . . .⁵¹*

(41) *Atum says:⁵² "This is that which came forth from my lips and what I spat⁵³ into my hand which was a vulva.⁵⁴ | Shu, Tefnut | Ka (and) vulva.*

(42) *Then Isis and Nephthys stretched forth their hands towards Horus that they might receive him when Isis gave birth to him and he came forth from her womb.*

(43) *Isis says to Nephthys: "Heavy for you is | Hands of Nephthys | Arm of the god (?)⁵⁵ your arm under me." | Horus | Horus of Db't*

(44) *Isis says to Nephthys: . . .⁵⁶*

(45) *Then Isis . . . her hands . . . Horus . . . boy . . . He . . . himself from her, he comes forth from the womb of [his] mother . . .*

(46) *Isis says to Nephthys: How small⁵⁷ . . . (?) | Horus | . . .*

⁴⁸ Is this an allusion to the name of the eleventh (or twenty-fifth) day of the month, hitherto known from late sources only and read *st.t* (*Wörterbuch*, IV, 332)?

⁴⁹ I suggest that this may refer to the waning of the moon.

⁵⁰ The word explained by the pun in the speech. This speech is either an exclamation or incomplete.

⁵¹ This is apparently a reference to the story of Atum who, when alone in the beginning, begat Shu and Tefnut by self-pollution. —— may be *r* again, but I do not understand *r h̄w-sn*.

⁵² It would suit the situation if Atum, being alone, does not address another god but speaks in monologue, and this is the case if the *t* (⌚) belongs to the name. But ⌚ is also a common writing for Thoth (in our text l. 39), so that *Atum says to Thoth* may be the right translation.

⁵³ The determinative suggests that *p̄g* is meant, which suits the context. Usually we find other verbs in this connection.

⁵⁴ The last *nn* is subject, all the rest predicate. A sentence of the same type as *dpt mut nn* (*Sin. B.* 23).

⁵⁵ An unknown entity explained by the word *k̄h* in the speech.

⁵⁶ I do not understand this speech in which the word *db̄* "finger" explains the god Horus of *Db̄t*. For this god see *SETHE, Urgeschichte*, p. 170. Pyr. 1993 has the same orthography.

⁵⁷ Very doubtful. The text may be incomplete.

CHAPTER X.

THE GRAFFITI AND OSTRAKA.

By BATTISCOMBE GUNN.

A. THE GRAFFITI.

THE considerable number of hieratic, hieroglyphic and demotic graffiti which are still more or less visible on the walls (especially the west¹ one) of the Passage show that the latter was much visited, especially in about Dyn. XXII. These inscriptions, in black ink in all cases observed by me except No. 28, which is in red, are mostly very faint, owing largely to the dark surface on which they are written and to the superposition of later ones on earlier; many are visible only when wetted. Some are in a late cursive hieratic, which even when well preserved is difficult to read from the paucity of similar published material with which to compare it; it has forms which differ from those of so-called "abnormal hieratic."

To record all these graffiti as completely as possible, with hand-copies, would have been the work of several weeks. Forty are here published; of these all the hieratic ones are transcribed on Pls. LXXXVIII to XC, and photographs of a selection of them are given in Pls. XCI, XCII, which also give two demotic ones, Nos. 39, 40. At the end of the following list are notes of a few graffiti noticed by me but too illegible to make anything of. It is hoped that none of any importance has been missed.

An indication of the position of each graffito is given after the reference to the Plates. "E" and "W" refer to "east wall" and "west wall"; the Arabic numbers are those of the sections into which the walls have been divided up for general recording purposes;² the Roman numbers are those of the registers, reckoned from below upwards. Where the scenes and texts are not disposed in the usual three registers, a graffito is given a register-number in inverted commas, indicating that it is at a level corresponding to that register elsewhere.

I am indebted to Dr. Černý for help in the transcription and dating of the hieratic, and to the late Prof. Spiegelberg for notes on No. 39.

(1) Pl. LXXXVIII. W. 45, "I." Hieroglyphic. Saite Period?

(1) *The Prophet of Amân in Diospolis Inferior* (Tell el-Balamûn), *Pedamenpeiu*, (2) *son of the mistress of a house, the justified Esenkhêbe*.

□ in the first name is evidently an abbreviation (not noted in the geographical dictionaries) of *P-³-iw-nj-Imn*, the "sacred name" of Diospolis Inferior, and not the *P-³-iw* of the Fayyûm.

¹ The walls are almost as much north and south respectively as east and west.

² The numbering of the sections runs from north to south down the west wall, and returns from south to north up the east wall.

(2) Pls. LXXXVIII, XCI. W. 44, "II." Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ?

(1) *Adoration of Re-Harakhte, Lord of the Two Lands, (2) the Great God, King of the Gods, Lord of Horns, with pointed Atef-crown, King (3) May he save the scribe from the demons that are in this place. (4) May he save the scribe Pedamün from the demons that are in this place.*

The words after "scribe" in line 3 must contain a further title and the scribe's name. For *hjtj*, apparently determined in both places with a monkey (the tail is clear) brandishing knives, cf. *hjtjw*, "kämpfende oder schlachtende Götter," *Wörterbuch*, III, 236 and BREASTED, *Edwin Smith Papyrus*, 475; here it evidently refers to the representations on the walls. The same word probably in No. 3.

(3) Pls. LXXXVIII, XCI. W. 44, over knees of seated god. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ?

(1) (2) *the watchful one (? ?). I (?) am (?) strong of arm, a demon (?) (3) who has power over in his time. Thou art happy upon thy (4) of Upper and Lower Egypt. Made by the scribe Pedewa (?) and his companion (5) the scribe Pedamün of the Temple of Osiris, who came to see (6) the underground crypt of King Menma'at-rê, l.s.h.*

The first line is quite illegible. The reference to the Osireion as *t: št:j n d:t*, literally "the hidden place of the Underworld" of Sethos, is interesting. For the word *hjtj* (?) see No. 2.

(4) Pl. LXXXVIII. W. 41, I. Hieratic. Dyn. XXIII ?

(1) *The priest of Amün, (2) The priest of Amün (3) The priest of Amün, Penpeni, son of Penêb.*

For the priest Penpeni (the reading is assured by the uncial writing in No. 17), see also Nos. 7, 13, 17, 27, 31.

(5) Pls. LXXXVIII, XCI. W. 44, below No. 3. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ?

The scribe Zekhonsef' onkh.

(6) Pls. LXXXVIII, XCI. W. 32, on red band. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ?

(1) *The scribe Shedsehôr. (2) The physician Hey [son of] (3) Mutteisu.*

Substantially identical with No. 15.

(7) Pls. LXXXVIII, XCI. W. 41, I. Hieratic. Dyn. XXIII ?

Penpeni, son of Penêb.

(8) Pl. LXXXVIII. W. 41, I. Hieroglyphic, copied from the religious texts above it.

(9) Pl. LXXXVIII. W. 41, I. Similar to No. 8.

(10) Pl. LXXXVIII. W. 41, I. Similar to No. 8.

(11) Pl. LXXXVIII. W. 29, "I." Cursive hieroglyphic. Dyn. XXII?

(1) *The God's-father Nakhtefmût, son of the God's-father and Prophet Inarôs, (2) his good name being Zekhonsef' onkh, shall (?) endure and abide.*

The rare writing of the father's name, with the *n* as in 'Ivaρωs, is interesting. *Ir* in line 2 archaic for simple *r* before infinitive?

(12) Pls. LXXXVIII, XCI. W. 31, III. Hieratic. Dyn. XXI?

(1) *Homage to <thee>, Isis in the Birth-house! Osiris, (2) Horus and Isis, may they cause to endure the names of the scribe (3) Hôr, son of Nesmût, daughter of Ptahemkeniamûn, (4) and the scribe Hiri, the scribe Pedef and the scribe (5) Arzen-enenamûn.*

Line 1: The suffix *t* is probably omitted in the writing after *ind hr* because it was not pronounced (*cf. apc*). The reference to "Isis in the Birth-house" is noteworthy. Line 3: *T*: evidently = "daughter of," as often *ps* = "son of" at this time. For the curious name "Ptah-is-in-the-embrace-of-Amun," *cf. Hr-m-knj-:st*, "Horus-is-in-the-embrace-of-Isis," SPIEGELBERG, *Graffiti aus der Thebanischen Nekropolis*, 139. Lines 4-5: For the name *Ir-dnn-n-Imn* I know no parallel.

(13) Pls. LXXXVIII, XCI. W. 38, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XXIII?

(1) *The priest of Amûn (2) The Chief, son of (?) Pe (3) son of Ubasterdais. (4) Penpeni, son of Pe[néb].*

A difficult hand; *cf.* for the content No. 31.

(14) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 29, "II." Hieratic. Dyn. XXII?

(1) *Osiris Chentamenthes, (2) may he cause the name of the scribe Hôr, [son of?] Peni to abide in*

(15) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 29, "I," on red band. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII?

(1) *The scribe and physician Sheshehôr. (2) The physician Hey, (son) of (3) Mutteisu.*

Cf. No. 6.

(16) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 28, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XXI?

(1) *The scribe Nebnûfer, who came with (2)*

(17) Pls. LXXXIX, XCI. W. 27, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XXIII?

(1) *Osiris, may he cause Penpeni, son of Penêb, to live, (2) and Penakhte, and Meri.*

For the names in line 2, see also No. 31.

(18) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 25, I. Hieratic.

May his prayer be heard (?)

(19) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 23, II. Hieratic. Obscure.

(20) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 23, II. Hieratic.

The scribe Sa

(21) Pls. LXXXIX, XCII. W. 20, "II." Hieratic. Dyn. XXIII ?

(1) *The priest of Khons, Nes* (2) (3) *The overseer of scribes,*
A very difficult handwriting.

(22) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 23, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ?

The scribe Peinebnakhtemwêse.

The same person in Nos. 32-34, and perhaps in No. 24.

(23) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 14, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ?

The scribe Shedsehôr.

(24) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 23, I. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ?

(1) *The scribe Peineb(2)[nakhtemwêse ?] ; (3)*

(25) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 23, II. Hieratic.

The scribe Hôr,

(26) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 12, II. Hieratic. Fragmentary.

(27) Pl. LXXXIX. E. 53, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XXIII ?

(1) *The priest of Amûn, Penpeni. . . .* (2) *The priest of Amûn, Amûn*
. . . . (3) *The priest of Amûn,* Cf. No. 4.

(28) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 7, II. Hieratic, red ink. Dyn. XIX ?

First month of Shômu, day 21.

Compare the two following, which are also dates. These are very likely overseers' notes of the points up to which, on the days in question, the painting and inscribing of the wall-surface had progressed. If so, it would seem that this work proceeded from the south, or lower end of the Passage, northwards; for No. 29, earlier than this one, is the southernmost.

(29) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 6, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XIX ?

First month of Shômu, day 11.

(30) Pl. LXXXIX. W. 7, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XIX ?

Day 25.

(31) Pls. LXXXIX, XCII. E. 50, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XXIII ?

(1) *Penpeni, son of Penêb.* (2) *The Chief, son of (?) Pe* (3) *son of (?) Ubasterdais,* (4) *son of (?) Penakhte,* (5) *and (?) Meri.*

Cf. No. 13, by another hand.

(32) Pl. LXXXIX. E. 53, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ?

The scribe Peinebnakht[emwése].

(33) Pl. LXXXIX. E. 60, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ?

The scribe Peinebnakhtemwése.

(34) Pls. LXXXIX, XCII. E. 60, I. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ? As the preceding.

(35) Pls. XC, XCII. E. 67, II. Hieratic. Dyn. XXII ?

(1) *The God's-father of Osiris, the scribe Zekhonsef' onkh.* (2) *The priest of Osiris, the scribe Shedsekholis.*

(36) Pl. XC. E. 60, I. Hieratic. Obscure.

(37) Pl. XC. E. 72, III. Hieratic.

. . . . incense (?).

(38) Pl. XC. E. 73, II. Demotic. Late Ptolemaic.

Sixty-seven.

(39) Pl. XCII. W. 45, "I." Demotic. Persian Period.

(1) *bn (?) 'w mn (?) 'r (?) 'j (?) n P=f-tw (?) -l'h s; l-r'w . . . ms 'rm (?) n; (?) (2) rmt nb ntj 'p (a) tw=f (?) ntj hn a bnr (?) . . . ? . . . m-s=w.*

(1) *Nicht soll Unheil (?—Krankheit?) treffen den Peftu'ajoh Sohn des Ari-w . . .*

(2) *alle Leute, die zu seiner Familie (?) gehören, welche . . . ? . . .*

SPIEGELBERG.

(40) Pl. XCII. E. 66, II. Demotic. Roman Period.

(1) *Psenamân; Pamân.* (2) *Osorwîr.*

(41) W. North of 45; "II." Demotic ? 1 line. Hardly legible.

(42) W. 44, below No. 5. Hieratic. 1 line. Illegible to me.

(43) W. 44, "II," above No. 2. Hieratic (?). 2 lines. Illegible to me.

(44) W. 44, "II," below No. 2. Hieratic. 2 lines. Illegible to me.

(45) W. 23, II, below No. 22. Hieratic. 1 line. Illegible to me.

(46) E. 90, "I." Demotic, 3 lines, beginning *rn/f* "His name"

B. THE HIERATIC OSTRAKA.

All are on limestone flakes, and were found in the Passage. I am indebted to Dr. Gardiner for several points of transcription in Nos. 1, 2.

No. 1.

Pls. XC, XCII. 12 × 20 cm. Rather small business hand. Account of dragging and unloading stone, and dike work. *Temp.* Sethos I.

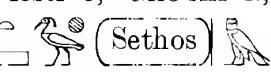
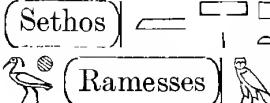
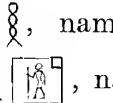
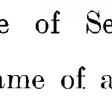
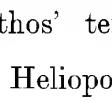
TRANSLATION.

- (1) *Fourth month of Pr̄yet,¹ day 22.*
Amount of work done by the Gang (?) of the Left.
- (2) *What it dragged from the Quay of the Castle of Menma'rē to the south of "Menma'rē-is-serviceable-to-Osiris."*
- (3) *Stones of the quarry, various, 29. Šprt-stones, 3. S:st-stones, 2. Total, stones of the quarry, various, 34.*
- (4) *What it did in unloading stone in this place, from:—The ships which are in charge of Anhermōse: 2½ shiploads, making 12 stones;*
- (5) *the ships which are in charge of the Meshkeb Penamān: 4 shiploads, making 7 stones of the quarry and 8 s:st-stones, total 15.*
- (6) *Total: 6½ shiploads, making stones of the quarry, various, 27.*
- (7) *Made in dike-making in the dike which is on the south of "Menma'rē-is-serviceable-to-Osiris," made by the stick (?).*
- (8) *25 naubia, width of 3 cubits, depth of 2 cubits. What it did in . . . ground: 25 naubia, width of 3 cubits, depth of 1½ cubits.*

NOTES.

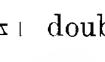
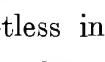
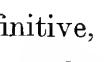
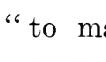
Line 1. *Krw*; the reading is assured by the occurrence of the same word, in similar context, on a Berlin ostrakon (see below). On both ostraka, however, the sign before  is damaged. There *krw*, though determined with , as here, has the plural resumptive pronoun, and not the singular, as here; one therefore thinks of *k:rw* or *kwr*, "staff," which, however, occurs only in connection with gold, see *J.E.A.*, IV, 247, note 3; XIII, Pl. xli, line 40.—*Smhj*, "the Left"; compare "the Right" and "the Left" as divisions of the workers in the Theban Necropolis.

¹ Read   for   in the transcription.

Line 2. *Hr* after *ith* has perhaps its frequent meaning of "away from," after verbs of motion. For *p: bhnw nj Mn-m^t-R^c* compare the names *p: bhnw nj* King X of various fortresses between Egypt and Palestine, GAUTHIER, *Dict. Géogr.*, II, 30 foll. For *sh Mn-m^t-R^c n Wsir* compare  (Sethos) Amun, 15,  (Sethos) op. cit., IV, 92;  (Ramesses) Dict. Géogr., 1132.

Line 3. The words *šprt*, *s:s:t* are unknown to me; Gardiner suggests for the former "coping-stones."

Line 5. For *mškb*, "overseer" or the like, see BURCHARDT, *Fremdworte*, 513, also, Černý points out, Murray in *Anc. Egypt*, 1917, 66.

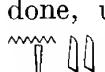
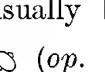
Line 7.  doubtless infinitive, "to make a dike";  "dike." For the two words together, cf. "I have not kept back water in its time (of flowing);   

Line 8. *Nbuj*, see below. *Ir* so written unknown to me elsewhere, and I cannot suggest a meaning.

COMMENTARY.

This document has more than one feature of interest.

In the first place it gives us two new names of buildings of Sethos I. at Abydos. "The Fortress of Menma'rē" was perhaps a fortress similar to the very ancient Shûnet el-Zebîb, which went out of use before the Middle Kingdom (see Ayrton in *Abydos*, III, 4). The second name, "Menma'rē is serviceable to Osiris," was possibly that of the Osireion.

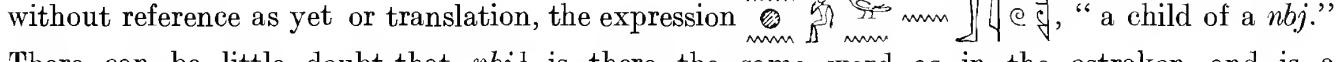
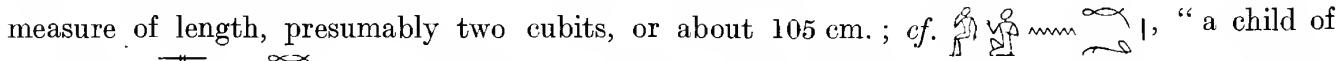
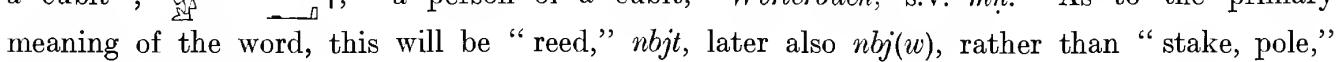
Secondly, we here meet with the *ναύβιον*, hitherto known only from Greek and demotic documents (see especially Thompson and Milne in *Theban Ostraca*, 26, note 3, 146 foll.) as a cubic measure of soil measuring two royal cubits each way, used in measuring the work done, usually by forced labour, in the making of dikes. In demotic the word is written  (op. cit., 26), and Thompson surmised its derivation from  "meaning a stake," which might "be, or become, of a recognised length, and form the origin of a measure for excavating earth generally." There can be no doubt that the naubion is in question on the ostrakon. After the heading "work done in dike-making" . . . we have twice *nbuj*³ 25, followed in each case by specifications of width and depth. If the naubion was (as there is no reason to doubt) of the same volume in Dyn. XIX as in late times, 25 naubia will amount to 25 times 8 cubic cubits, or 200 cubic cubits; the first entry

¹ With *n* in all variants.

² Corresponding perhaps to *ἀναβάλλω* in the Greek acknowledgments of naubia, op. cit., 148-149.

³ Does the *w* represent the *v* of *ναύβιον*?

will then refer to a mass of soil $33\frac{1}{3}$ cubits long by 3 wide by 2 deep, and the second entry will refer to a mass about $44\frac{1}{3}$ cubits long by 3 wide by $1\frac{1}{2}$ deep.

The *Wörterbuch*, which knows nothing of *nbwj* (or *nbj*, *nbjt*) as a measure, cites (s.v. *nbj*), without reference as yet or translation, the expression , “a child of a *nbj*.” There can be little doubt that *nbj*¹ is there the same word as in the ostrakon, and is a measure of length, presumably two cubits, or about 105 cm. ; cf. , “a child of a cubit”; , “a person of a cubit,” *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *mh*. As to the primary meaning of the word, this will be “reed,” *nbjt*, later also *nbj(w)*, rather than “stake, pole,” *nbs*, later also *nbj*.

The document as a whole comprises three different kinds of work executed by the *krw* of the Left: dragging stone, unloading stone from ships, and dike-work. As to its first six lines, it closely resembles in every respect an ostrakon published *Hieratische Papyrus . . . zu Berlin*, III, XXX, No. 11292. This was pointed out to me by M. Černý, who further, from an inspection of that publication and of a photograph of the Osireion ostrakon, sees no reason to believe that both ostraka are not from the same hand. The provenance of the Berlin ostrakon is not given.

No. 2.

Pls. XC, XCII. $6\cdot5 \times 10$ cm. Fairly large business hand. Short but obscure letter, without address. Dyn. XIX.

(1) *As to Penûfer's saying to me*: (2) “*If you have finished unloading, you come (to me) with the wood*,” *they have not carried the* (4) *<I?> have carried it*, (5) *or not*.

Line 5. *N: m bj:t*, “or not,” GARDINER, *Inscription of Mes*, N. 11, and p. 18.

No. 3.

Pl. XC. “*Now see what was*” Ramesside.

No. 4.

Pl. XC. A lump of stone, inscribed on three faces in cursive hieroglyphic. The inscriptions seem to be fragments of religious texts, and may have been copied from those in the Osireion.

C.—THE DEMOTIC OSTRAKA.

Over a score of these were found in the Passage, all on pot-sherds. Photographs of a selection of them are given on Pl. XCIII. I am indebted to the late Prof. Spiegelberg (who saw only photographs) for the following notes.

¹ Cf. the Arabic *qaṣaba*, “reed,” as a measure of length for land, of 3.55 metres, however.

(1) (O. 16),¹ Pl. XCIII. Geschäftliche Mitteilung.

(2) (O. 3), Pl. XCIII. “(1) Eure (?) Aecker, mögen Isis (2) und Osiris und Anubis geben (3) Opfer (?) in [schönem] Zustand (?)². . . .”

(3) (O. 14), Pl. XCIII. Liste von Wörtern ; darunter “Kümmel (ταννού),” *šmr*, “*m*, *ootw*, *hrp*, *rsj*. Lexikalisch wichtig. Römische Zeit.

(4) (O. 15), Pl. XCIII. Rechnung. Römische Zeit ?

(5) (O. 5), Pl. XCIII. Steuerquittung. “Es hat gebracht Panas, Sohn des Phatres, 2 *hin* für (?) Oel Geschrieben von Nes-pe-, dem Sohne des Portis. Im Jahre 6 am”

(6) (O. 23), Pl. XCIII. Quittung über Salzsteuer. “Es hat gebracht Pamonthes, Sohn des Thotorteus (?) für das Salz des Jahres 1. Geschrieben hat Harsiēsis, der Sohn des Totoēs (?), im Jahre 2 am 4. Monat der Ueberschwemmung (= Choiak) am 8.(?) Tage.”

(7) (O. 19), Pl. XCIII. Rechnung : Lieferung von Getreide (in Artaben) an den Speicher (? *r*; ?). Römische Zeit.

(8) (O. 2), Pl. XCIII. “Echtes Oel (*nh n ms^c.t*) $\frac{1}{3}$, Rizinus Oel Honig $\frac{1}{26}$, Weihrauch ? (*ωνν*) 2 Kite, Wachs 8 Kite, *mth*-Oel 4 Kite, *tp.t*-Oel 4 Kite, süßes Fett 4 Kite, *smj*-Fett 4 Kite.” Lexikalisch wichtig.

(9) (O. 1.) Jahr 19,  etc.

(10) (O. 4.) Rechnung. Datum *hr ms-st*.

(11) (O. 6.) Rechnung über Steinlieferungen. “Die erste, zweite, dritte, vierte. Im ganzen 435 (475 ?) Steine.” Cf. Nr. 20 ; zugehörig ?

(12) (O. 7.) Aus einer Rechnung.

(13) (O. 8.) Quittung über Salzsteuer. “(1) Es haben gebracht Imuthes, Sohn des, und *Msj* (oder *Pasi* ?), Sohn des (2) für (?) Salz. Geschrieben von Portis, dem Sohne des (3)”

(14) (O. 9.) Rechnung : (1) $4\frac{1}{4}$ (2) $15\frac{3}{5}$ (?) (3) $3\frac{3}{5}$. . .

(15) (O. 11.) Zwei Texte in entgegengesetzter Richtung. (a) “Eine Rechnung (*w^c p* über” ; (b) Lieferungen (?).

¹ The numbers in brackets are the field numbers.

² *š [shn nfr] ??*

(16) (O. 12.) Liste von Namen, in unbeholfener Schrift:—

- (1) *Hr-šr-c-hpr-w.*
- (2) *W: h-’b-p- R^c.*
- (3) *Ph=w (?)-t; (?)-h:t (?)*.
- (4) *P: -sjt . . ? . .* Römische Zeit.

(17) (O. 17.) Mitteilung (?).

(18) (O. 18.) Rechnung.

(19) (O. 20.) Rechnung über Lieferungen.

(20) (O. 22.) Lieferungen von Steinen. Cf. Nr. 11.

(21) (O. 24.) Rechnung. “(1) Folgende (?) Ausgaben (?) : Oel 55 . . . (2) ohne Rechnung . . . (3) Fahrgeld (?) . . . (4) grosse *hwge* (?) darin wiederholt 3½ (5) für das Jahr . . .”